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Cory Michael Gavito

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**THE *ALFABETO* SONG IN PRINT, 1610 – CA. 1665: NEAPOLITAN
ROOTS, ROMAN CODIFICATION, AND “*IL GUSTO POPOLARE*”**

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by

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Dedication

To Mom and Dad

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The focus of this dissertation is the widespread practice of annotating vocal music with a tablature system known as *alfabeto*, a shorthand notational method related to *basso figurato* that uses alphabetical letters and typescript characters to represent hand positions on the fretboard of the five-course Spanish guitar. Cultivated in Italy from the late-sixteenth century until the mid-1600s, *alfabeto* songs first appeared in print in 1610. The repertory witnessed its most prolific printed dispersal during the 1620s and 30s, where at times it comprised over half of the yearly total output of secular vocal music published in Italy. The resiliency of the repertory even during outbreaks of plague and crippling economic instability attests to the *alfabeto* song's economic, musical, and cultural value in Italy during the early *seicento*. This undoubted popularity has led some scholars to hypothesize that music printers added *alfabeto* to vocal publications primarily to increase their appeal within the competitive music printing market. This project demonstrates alternatively that vocal music with *alfabeto* emerges in the seventeenth century as a unique musical tradition that offered composers and performers a viable option in the quest for musical expression. Strong evidence for this position lies in the fact that the songs are imbued with specific musical and poetic typologies that commonly draw from circulating ideologies of pastoral life, authenticity, and the Spanish Kingdom of Naples. The central role that the *Mezzogiorno* played in the initial diffusion and later standardization of *alfabeto* songs in Italy is also noted in the chronology of the repertory's publication as well as the large number of textual and musical concordances that pervade the repertory. This offers a balanced assessment of *alfabeto*-inscribed vocal music printed in Italy, a phenomenon emphasized in previous scholarship as fundamentally Venetian. The Neapolitan provenance of several key *alfabeto* song components further adds to a growing consensus in early modern Italian musicology that the Kingdom of Naples was a source of several musical traditions that were later established and standardized in the north/central Italian environs.

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INTRODUCTION

Alfabeto was first advertised in Italy in the early seventeenth century as a simplified alternative to traditional guitar and lute intabulation. According to the basic principles of the system, letters of the alphabet correspond to particular groupings of finger positions on the fret board of a five-course Spanish guitar. When executed in a *rasgueado* or *battuto* (strummed) manner, the sounding result of each “lettered” grouping is a chord. Beginning in 1610, *alfabeto* tablature appeared in vocal music publications in formats remarkably similar to the twentieth-century mapping of chord progressions of jazz tunes and popular music songs in “fake-book” anthologies or in the multitude of “fake book” – inspired web sites published on the Internet. Published all over Italy, *alfabeto* songs were among the most prolifically printed secular vocal music repertoires of the early- to mid-*seicento*. To date, no comprehensive study of the repertory has been written, perhaps due to the assumption that *alfabeto* was an expendable addition to vocal publications, instead of a necessary and in fact defining component of a musical tradition dating back to the sixteenth century. A central aim of this project is to report the high profile of *alfabeto* songs among the printed musical repertoires of the *seicento*, and to uncover the great number of textual and musical concordances that bind the repertory. An equally important focus is to convey a sense of the degree to which this tradition held meaning and significance for early seventeenth-century Italians. Beyond the musical, the repertory chronicles changing ideologies of the pastoral world and further serves to highlight cultural and social relationships among the north and central Italian regions, Rome, and the Spanish-ruled *Mezzogiorno*.

An overarching aim of this project is to suggest that the *alfabeto* song repertory reveals itself as an intersection of elite and non-elite traditions. Similar to the printed *canzone villanesche alla napolitana* repertory of the sixteenth century, the *alfabeto* song tradition appears to have been an interesting meeting point of learned and vernacular cultures during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹ Although comprised of carnival street entertainments, lullabies, peasant ballads, and dialect songs, *alfabeto* songs were sponsored and cultivated by members of the same cultural and musical establishment that produced humanist music drama, solo and polyphonic madrigals, polychoral church music, and other sophisticated musical forms that advertised progressive, even revolutionary musical and intellectual agendas. As the musicologist Nigel Fortune once remarked about *alfabeto* songs: “so popular were they that Monteverdi, the greatest musician in Venice, could hardly avoid writing a few, even if he rather despised them.”² This comment encapsulates both an acknowledgment of the cultural presence of the repertory and the construction of a putative “high art” dismissal of the tradition. Such perceptions of the *alfabeto* song have had broader implications for the historiography of early modern Italian music, repercussions that this study aims to unpack.

Musicologists before Fortune also grappled with the presence of *alfabeto* songs in contexts that seemed “inappropriate.” Oscar Chilesotti, like Fortune after him, resolved this issue using notions of the “popular” in one of the earliest modern musicological accounts of *alfabeto*-accompanied vocal music. Commenting in 1909 on the presence of figured bass and *alfabeto* in Raffaello Rontani’s six *Varie musiche*, Chilesotti concluded

¹ On the cultural and social aspects of the *canzone villanesche alla napolitana* repertory, see Donna G. Cardamone, *The canzone villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981).

² Nigel Fortune, “Monteverdi and the *Seconda Prattica*” in *The New Monteverdi Companion*, ed. Dennis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1985), 186.

that guitarists, based on their preference for either “*il gusto popolare*” (popular taste) or “*le regole scolastiche*” (scholastic rules), could improvise their accompaniments accordingly. Consequently, guitarists with “popular” taste could read from *alfabeto*, while those with “learned” taste could read from figured bass.³ Indeed, “popular” taste for the Spanish guitar was itself a theme in the seventeenth century, as seen in Vincenzo Giustiniani’s “Discorso sopra la musica de’ suoi tempi” of 1628:

Tanto più che nell’istesso tempo s’introdusse la Chitarra alla spagnola per tutta Italia, massime in Napoli, che unita con la Tiorba, pare che abbiano congiurato di sbandire affatto il Liuto; et è quasi riuscito a punto, come il modo di vestire alla spagnola in Italia prevale a tutte le altre foggie. ⁴	Moreover, at the same time the Spanish guitar was introduced to Italy, mainly in Naples. Together with the Theorbo, it appears that they have conspired to disband the Lute completely, and they have nearly succeeded, as similarly the fashion of dressing in the Spanish manner prevails over all other styles in Italy.
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From the perspectives of Chilesotti and Giustiniani, the “popular” is not a mass-influenced or mass-consumed practice, but rather an approach to musical taste that is seen as opposed to more “normative” elite practices (whether “learned” or otherwise). These notions of the “popular” are useful starting points for thinking about the *alfabeto* song repertory as embodying certain aspects of the “popular” in early modern Italy. This dissertation will be exploring such constructs as exemplifying particular early modern aesthetics and sensibilities.

Early modern taste for *alfabeto* songs and the Spanish guitar went hand in hand with taste for musical traditions and practices associated with a facet of culture often construed as “popular” rather than “elite”; namely, the musically unsophisticated and unwritten. At the same time, these tastes were founded by and circulated within a highly

³ Oscar Chilesotti, “Canzonette del *Seicento* con la chitarra,” *Rivista musicale italiana* 16 (1909): 849.

⁴ Vincenzo Giustiniani, “Discorso sopra la musica de’ suoi tempi,” transcribed in Angelo Solerti, *Le origini del melodramma* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1903), 126.

literate and privileged elite. In fact, the earliest known Italian mention of Spanish guitar-accompanied song performance involved Ferrante Sanseverino, the Prince of Salerno, in 1544.⁵ It is also within the context of the intersection between written and unwritten musical traditions that *alfabeto* song first emerged in Italy (Naples, more specifically) in the late sixteenth century. This is shown in the appearance of three popular songs “Non vegio al mondo cosa,” “Non per viver da lunge amor non m’arde e punge,” and “Mentre l’aquila sta mirando il sole” in a manuscript at the Biblioteca Universitaria in Bologna that James Tyler has dated ca. 1585-1600.⁶ Before their appearance in this manuscript, the songs were mentioned early in the sixteenth century as “sung in Naples by various by apprentices and artisans” in Giambattista Del Tufo’s “Ritratto o modello.”⁷ The “Bologna manuscript,” as it has come to be known, is one of the earliest known documents to contain the guitar tablature known in Italy as *alfabeto*.⁸ This notational system, as it appears in the Bologna manuscript, is comprised of letters of the alphabet that are placed above the canto part notation in places where a harmonic shift is suggested. As Tyler has demonstrated with the Bologna manuscript’s *alfabeto* setting of the canto part from Marenzio’s three-part *villanella* “Dicemi la mia stella” (published in 1584), the *alfabeto*

⁵ Benedetto Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Bari: Laterza, 1953-4), 333-34. Cited in Keith A. Larson, “The Unaccompanied Madrigal in Naples from 1536 to 1654” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985, 111.

⁶ James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 39.

⁷ Giambattista Del Tufo, “Ritratto o modello,” Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli MS XIII.C.96, ed. in Calogero Tagliareni, *Giovanni Battista Del Tufo, Ritratto* (Naples, 1959). Cited and translated in Donna G. Cardamone, *The canzone villanesca alla napolitana and Related Forms*, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 116-17. As Cardamone notes, the songs presented in the “Ritratto,” many of which are dialect spin-offs of lyrics found in earlier literary sources, reflect the “mutual influence between oral and written lyric traditions in an urban setting.”

⁸ More detailed information about the Bologna manuscript can be found in Tyler, *The Guitar*, 37-45 and John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 70-4.

of the Bologna manuscript corresponds with the changing harmony indicated by the canto II and bass parts in Marenzio's original setting.⁹

More is learned about *alfabeto* notation in Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura per sonare...la chitarra spagnola* (Florence: Marescotti, 1606), the first known printed text on the *alfabeto* system in Italian. In this source, Montesardo calls his "new inventions of intabulation" "*alfabetto*", which he defines as a series of alphabetical and typescript characters that correspond to groups of finger positions on the fret board of a five-course Spanish guitar. Strummed simultaneously, the various finger-position groups sound chords, which number 27 in Montesardo's chart on page three of the *Nuove inventione*:

Example 1: Montesardo's *alfabeto* chart from the *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura* (1606), with a modern transcription of the corresponding sonorities sounded on a five-course Spanish guitar¹⁰

Character	1	2	3	4
A	2	0	0	3
B	3	2	0	0
C	0	0	2	2
D	0	2	2	0
E	0	0	2	1
F	2	2	1	0
+	2	2	0	0
G	3	3	2	1
H	1	3	3	1
I	0	2	2	0
K	1	3	2	1
L	3	1	0	3
M	1	1	3	4
N	3	1	3	4
O	1	0	0	3
P	3	3	1	1
Q	4	4	2	2
R	2	4	3	2
S	2	2	4	5
T	4	2	2	5
V	4	4	2	2
X	2	4	3	2
Y	5	5	3	3
Z	3	5	5	3
U	4	3	1	3
9	2	2	5	3
Rx	3	3	5	5

From the chart one can gather that Montesardo's "new" *alfabeto* system is a simple way of expressing vertical sonorities without the need for music staff or the numbered

⁹ Tyler, 40-1.

¹⁰ The resulting sonorities are based on the standard tuning of a five-course Spanish guitar in Italy ca. 1600. For details about this and other five-course tunings, see Tyler, Appendix II, 184-86.

tablature system for plucked string instruments. As he states in the title of the collection, Montesardo advertises that this new tablature is “*per sonare li baletti sopra la chitarra spagniola senza numeri, e note per mezzo della quale da se stesso ogn’uno senza maestro potrà imparare*” (“for playing dances on the Spanish guitar without numbers and notes, by means of which you will be able to learn yourself without a teacher”).

Unlike the *alfabeto* of the Bologna manuscript, Montesardo’s *alfabeto*, as indicated in the title, appears to be designed for guitarists not accompanying vocal music, but rather playing dances such as the ones included in the *Nuove inventione*, including the *Villano di Spagna*, *Ruggiero*, *Bergamesca*, and *Ballo di Napoli*. In contrast to the Bologna manuscript, Montesardo incorporates rhythmic notation with the *alfabeto*, which is indicated by lower and upper case letters (corresponding to the duration of the strum) and the position of the *alfabeto* above or below a horizontal line (corresponding to an up- or down-stroke strum). As Tyler, Gary Boye, and others have shown, this rhythmic *alfabeto* system (illustrated by Montesardo here in its earliest and most basic form) is almost entirely exclusive to the guitar repertory of the subsequent decades of the seventeenth century, and thus belongs to a more specialized instrumental tradition than that of the repertory studied in this dissertation.¹¹

Alfabeto appended to vocal music as presented in the Bologna manuscript, on the other hand, occurs in Girolamo Kapsberger’s *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1610), the earliest known collection of vocal music with *alfabeto* published in Italy. As is seen in “Hor ch’amorosi accenti” from Kapsberger’s *Libro primo* (Figure 1), the *alfabeto*

¹¹ As Tyler notes, the only vocal music publication with rhythmic *alfabeto* is Benedetto Sanseverino’s *Il libro primo d’intavolatura* (1622). Tyler, 52. For a detailed study of the development of rhythmic *alfabeto* in guitar instrumental prints, see: Gary R. Boye, “Giovanni Battista Granata and the Development of Printed Music for the Guitar in Seventeenth-Century Italy,” Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1995.

is placed above the melody line in positions that correspond to harmonic shifts implied by the bass. With the knowledge of the *alfabeto* system as outlined in Montesardo's chart of 1606, a musician would be able to render the harmony of Kapsberger's setting on the five-course Spanish guitar the same way a keyboardist or other chordal instrumentalist could realize the harmony from figured bass.

Figure 1: Kapsberger, *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome, 1610), "Hor ch'amorosi accenti"

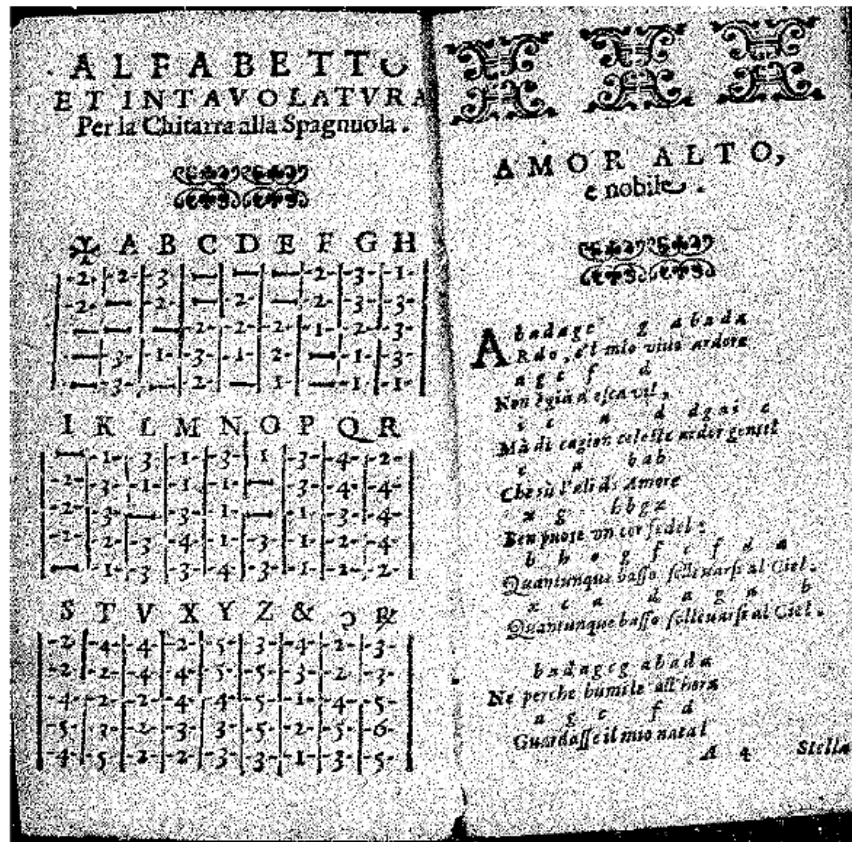
The image shows a page from Kapsberger's *Libro primo di villanelle* (1610). It contains a musical score for the piece "Hor ch'amorosi accenti". The score is written for a five-course Spanish guitar, using the *alfabeto* system for harmonic notation. The notation consists of letters (A, G, B, D, F, A, C, etc.) placed above the staff, indicating harmonic shifts. The lyrics are in Italian and are written below the staff. The lyrics are: "Hor chiamami accenti spinn la terra cielo pastor tu che paventi l'ad dormentato cielo corri corri alla sel ua che ng'cond' il tuon il tuo ben la tua uita! tuo amor la tua speme co si godrai nelle dolci zzz in fieme E se la stagione noua ne ritorna gli amori pastor tu ancor rinoua i desperati ardori segui segui la traccia che ne porta il piacer la tua gioia il conteto il tuo caro diletto che può destar con noua fiamma il petto".

An interesting feature of this early printed exemplar of *alfabeto* as vocal accompaniment is that Kapsberger's *alfabeto* supplements not only one, but two other accompaniment notation options: figured bass and *chitarrone* tablature—attesting to the multiplicity of

accompaniment options Kapsberger and his editorial partners envisioned for the songs within the collection. Furthermore, while *alfabeto* emerged as the predominant accompaniment notation in the later standardized tradition, I will argue below that Kapsberger's employment of the multi-option format may have resulted from a scrupulous desire to appeal to the musical practices fostered by circles within the Roman elite.

In 1618, a collection of poetry edited by Remigio Romano was published in Vicenza that incorporated *alfabeto* above the lines of verses with no recourse to other musical notation (See Figure 2). This anthology, entitled *Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette*, includes the first known examples of *alfabeto* songs published in Italy without reference to rhythmic or melodic notation. Together with the staffed prototype in Kapsberger's *Libro primo*, these two formats constitute the two templates that Italian music printers used when issuing vocal music with *alfabeto* throughout the early to mid seventeenth century.

Figure 2: Romano, *Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette* (Vicenza, 1618), *Alfabeto* chart and setting of “Ardo è'l mio vivo ardore.”



The visual difference between the two notational formats underlies another important distinction: collections like Romano’s seem to indicate that the melodies and/or basses of the songs are familiar enough to exclude pitch and rhythmic notation, or that the users of this book were encouraged to embellish pre-existing tunes in circulation or even improvise new music on the given poetic meter and chord changes. In any case, this notational format vividly illustrates how written and unwritten traditions collide in the *alfabeto* song repertory. Further, the methods employed to reproduce such a format required very little in the way of specialized musical typesetting, and it is likely that these unstaffed collections were significantly less expensive to produce than that staffed

collections (Kapsberger's engraved collection would have been even more expensive). This may explain part of the greater diffusion of *alfabeto* prints to the less established houses in small regional centers that will be explored in Chapter 3.

Scholars have located a total of 112 extant first edition *alfabeto* song prints issued from the Italian music presses from the time of Kapsberger's *Libro primo* of 1610 to one of the last published *alfabeto* song publications, the incomplete *D'i[ntavolatura]* of Tomasso Marchetti ca. 1665. The number of known reprinted editions brings the total figure to 150. The list of prints upon which these data are based was derived by cross-referencing several bibliographies, assembled here for the first time; I present the list, which I posit as the most current inventory of printed vocal music with *alfabeto*, as Appendix 1 of this dissertation. I owe much of my knowledge of the existing bibliographies to James Tyler, who published his own inventory of printed vocal sources with *alfabeto* in 2002. Appendix 1 makes note of some of the additions and subtractions made to Tyler's inventory, including corrections based on the 2005 rediscovery of the *Miscellanea raccolta di musica* at the library of the Conservatorio di musica "C. Pollini" in Padua.¹²

Considering that the repertory spans over 100 first editions containing more than 1,400 song settings, there are a number of crucial issues related to the topic of *alfabeto* song in print that have not been explored in this dissertation. The results of this project stem mainly from observations about publishing history, poetic issues, and textual and musical concordances, with an emphasis on the cultural relevance of these aspects. While the subject of *alfabeto* songs in manuscript surfaces in this dissertation from time to time,

¹² See Francesco Passadore, "Una miscellanea di edizioni musicali del primo Seicento," *Fonti musicali italiane* 10 (2005): 7-38. I thank Professor Passadore for sharing information about this collection and for providing me a copy of his article.

I have chosen to focus exclusively on the printed tradition. Authors such as Cesare Acutis, Dinko Fabris, John Walter Hill, Sylvia Castelli, Cosimo Passaro, and James Tyler have examined the tradition of *alfabeto* songs in manuscript, and their research has greatly informed this study.¹³ I have excluded such topics as performance context and the role of gender in the circulation of the repertory out of an unwillingness to treat such important subjects without the same kind of rigor applied to the topics at hand; likewise, analytical discussion of the songs is limited to the context of concordance. It is my hope that these subjects will be given their deserved attention in future scholarship.

The topic of *alfabeto* song in print has been treated peripherally by a number of authors, all of whom have greatly influenced the direction of this project. Roark Miller has examined the importance of *alfabeto* songs in vocal publications of composers affiliated with San Marco and the parochial church of Santo Stefano in Venice, especially Carlo Milanuzzi, Giovanni Pietro Berti, and Guglielmo Miniscalchi.¹⁴ Miller, along with Silke Leopold, has additionally spoken about the *alfabeto* song poetry anthologies of Remigio Romano and their association with subsequent compositions published in the Venetian orbit.¹⁵ Most recently, John Walter Hill has examined the role of *alfabeto*

¹³ Cesare Acutis, *Cancioneros musicali spagnoli in Italia, 1535-1635* (Pisa: Università di Pisa, 1971); Sylvia Castelli, "Una chitarra per Scapino" in *Rime e suoni per corde spagnole: Fonti per la chitarra barocca a Firenze*, ed. Giovanna Lazzi (Florence: Edizioni polistampa, 2002), 31-7; Dinko Fabris, *Andrea Falconieri Napoletano. Un liutista-compositore del seicento* (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987). Fabris discusses Falconieri's *alfabeto* songs both in manuscript and print, as well as their concordance in other musical sources. Along with Hill's *Roman Monody*, Fabris's chapter "La musica vocale di Falconieri" (75-89) provided the impetus for my research into *alfabeto* song concordances as they appear in the printed tradition. Cosimo Passaro, "Manoscritto per chitarra spagnola 2951 della Biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze," *Il Fronimo* 20 (1992): 35-43; Tyler, *The Guitar*, 37-59; Hill, *Roman Monody*, 70-8 and 140-172.

¹⁴ Roark Miller, "The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody (to 1630)," Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1993. See especially Chs. IV (152-254) and VII (323-35).

¹⁵ Miller, "New Information on the Chronology of Venetian Monody: the *Raccolte* of Remigio Romano," *Music and Letters* 77 (1996): 22-33; and Silke Leopold, "Remigio Romano's Collection of Lyrics for Music," trans. Karen Williams, *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 110 (1983): 45-61.

manuscripts associated with the court of Cardinal Montalto in Rome, and the subsequent appearances of their contents in the printed *alfabeto* song anthologies of Giovanni Stefani and Giuseppe Giamberti.¹⁶

The following study is based on the existing sources of printed *alfabeto* songs listed in the inventory of Appendix 1. Chapter one is an exploration of what might seem to be the more peripheral aspects of *alfabeto* song publications: titles, dedications, encomia, and other textual references to the repertory. Despite the “boilerplate” aspect of much of this material, I will argue that the types of metaphors and strategies evoked in this “paratextual” language show evidence of composers’ and publishers’ desires to present their *alfabeto* songs with particular rhetorical landscapes in mind. Chapter two offers an introduction to the language of *alfabeto* song texts, with special emphasis on the pastoral tone that characterizes a large percentage of the repertory. Chapter three presents a chronology of the published repertory, including analyses of regional publication and a comparative study of the published tradition within the larger context of Italian music publishing in the *seicento*. Chapter four explores some representative musical and textual concordances within the repertory. The final two chapters offer concluding and interpretive thoughts about the observations presented in previous sections, with chapter five focusing on the origins and prominence of the tradition in the Kingdom of Naples and Rome, and the final chapter recounting how the practice of notating vocal music with *alfabeto* has played out in musicological historiography since the early twentieth century.

Nearly a century ago, Chilesotti invoked the “popular” nature of *alfabeto* song prints as a talisman of their artistic ability, and this, within a larger context of Italians

¹⁶ Hill, *Roman Monody*, 70-8, 140-169, and Appendix B (357-413).

recapturing their distant musical past.¹⁷ Fifty years later, Fortune employed the “popular” in pigeonholing the repertory under the shadows of the more sophisticated and notationally-complex (and thus for Fortune artistically superior) *basso-continuo* monody tradition. While both associations appear somewhat simplistic—and certainly were designed in the service of broader intellectual or aesthetic agendas—their approaches to making sense of the repertory illustrate the polarizing and sometimes ambivalent attitudes about *alfabeto* songs (and to an extent “popular” music in general) that reveal themselves in reflections about music in early modern Italy. At the same time, these scholars' focus on the “popular” resonates with the contexts surrounding the *alfabeto* song's first flourishing and consequent proliferation in print. It is the purpose of this dissertation to offer a nuanced assessment of the intersections between early modern Italian notions of the “popular” (largely as articulated by the highly literate elite) and the widely disseminated and sonically/poetically-influential phenomenon of *alfabeto* song. With this premise in mind, it is hoped that this project can start where Chilesotti's left off in 1909, and that his claims for the repertory's musical and cultural viability be revisited with a focus and attention that is overdue.

¹⁷ On the role of Italian seventeenth-century music in Italian nationalistic rhetoric of the early twentieth century, especially in the *Rivista musicale italiana*, see Andrew Dell'Antonio, “Il Divino Claudio: Monteverdi and Lyric Nostalgia in Fascist Italy” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 8 (1996): 271-84.

Chapter 1: The Language of *Alfabeto* Song Print Dedications, Letters, and Titles

Oggi non se ne compongono tante perchè si usa poco di cantare madrigali, nè ci è occasione in cui si abbiano da cantare, amando più le genti di sentir cantare a mente con gli strumenti in mano con franchezza, che di vedere quattro o cinque compagni che cantino ad un tavolino col libro in mani, che ha troppo del scolaresco e dello studio. ¹⁸	Today not many madrigals are composed because few are sung; neither are there occasions in which they have to be sung; people are fonder of hearing [music] sung by heart with an instrument in hand and with sincerity rather than watching four or five friends singing at a little table with a book in their hands, which has more of the schoolboy and study [about it.]
Vi sono ancora gli Sonatore di Chitarra alla Spagnola, alliquali si ben li tocca l'istesso grado, nondimeno per essere state usata de gente basse, e di poco valore non dico da Boffoni, liquali se ne hanno servito ne i conviti. ¹⁹	There are also players of the Spanish guitar, who belong to the same status [as the players of the double harp and lute]; notwithstanding that [the guitar] was used by people of low status and those of little worth, not to mention Buffoons who have made use of it at banquets.

These statements by Pietro della Valle and Scipione Cerreto introduce us to the problematic and sometimes ambiguous status of the Spanish guitar during the early decades of the seventeenth century. As a member of the *strumenti di corde* family, the instrument was simultaneously associated with the noble lute and *arpa doppia*, and considered the instruments of peasants, blind beggars, and clowns. Yet, as della Valle and the *alfabeto* song repertory illustrate, the instrument could also function as a fashionable instrumental prop in vocal music performances.

Similarly, the visibility of the Spanish guitar and *alfabeto* song among the influx of “monody” prints issued after 1600 is problematic for some recent scholars. Tim Carter has suggested that as a phenomenon created under the banner of “new music” aesthetics, vocal music with *alfabeto* fails to meet the high standards of the “new music” tradition.

¹⁸ Solerti, 171.

¹⁹ Scipione Cerreto, *Dell'arbore musicale* (Naples: Sotille, 1608), 37. Published in facsimile in Francesco Luisi, ed., *Dell'arbore musicale: facsimile dell'esemplare appartenuto a Padre Martini* (Bologna: Libreria musicale italiana editrice, 1989).

Alfabeto songs, printed with great regularity after 1610, are for Carter adumbrations of the “new music” rather than true manifestations of the practice:

The striking persistence of the “new music” in print cannot be explained simply by those collections (numerous at least from the 1610s) clearly catering to singers of modest achievement, with simple tunes and pleasant ditties sung to the strummed chords of the Spanish guitar.²⁰

Here again, the *alfabeto* song appears in a dialectical relationship between musical sophistication and banality. Although *alfabeto* songs proliferate under “new music” guises (“new music” representatives such as D’India, Kapsberger, and Francesca Caccini composed *alfabeto* songs, often printed side-by-side with their “new music” compositions), they cannot be considered true “new music” projects because they lack the same degree of musical erudition.

The Spanish guitar and *alfabeto* song are complicated symbols in *seicento* music. Not only do they escape modern historiographical categories, they also confused musical authorities of their own time. To better understand this complex repertory, it will be helpful to explore the repertory’s meaning and significance in seventeenth century Italy. This chapter attempts to extract some of the repertory's contemporaneous significance through examining the language of dedications, encomia, letters, and miscellaneous notes to the reader that often introduced the editions. While the encomiastic writing of these “paratextual” items reflects a written practice that became standardized in musical publications around the middle of the previous century, they often contain clues about a variety of matters concerning publishing, performance, taste, and audiences.

²⁰ Carter, “Printing the ‘New Music,’” in *Music and the Cultures of Print*, ed. Kate van Orden (New York and London: Garland, 2000), 6.

Themes and Metaphors in Paratextual Material

Antiquity

As Jane Bernstein has noted, antiquity and nature were common themes in the dedication letter writing of Italian music prints of the mid-sixteenth century.²¹ In the paratextual language of *alfabeto* song publications, the authoritative symbol of antiquity was appropriated in ways that served to legitimize the repertory within the larger sphere of musical publications. This is observed in the frequent allusion to the *chitarra* as the *seicento* heir to the ancient *kithara* (*cetera* or *cetra* in Italian). In the dedication to Priamo da Lezze in his *alfabeto* songbook *Gratie et affetti amorosi* 1627, Marc'Antonio Aldigatti boasts of the noble and ancient practice of making music with the *cetera*, citing Achilles and Apollo among early practitioners:

Imperò che Achille doppò le consulte con maggior Duci della Greci per espugnar la famosa Troia non si sdegnava di prender in mano la sonora Cetera: & Apollo istesso dall'Antichità reputato lo Dio della sapientia bene spesso con archa soave soleva per diletto feriri le corde ammirabili del suo musico legno. ²²	Achilles, after deliberations with the great leaders of Greece about conquering the famous Troy, did not disdain from taking in his hands the sonorous <i>Cetera</i> . Apollo himself, who the ancients reputed as the God of wisdom, often raised with delight a sweet bow and struck the admirable strings of his musical instrument.
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While Apollo's instrument is not named, the etymological similarities between Achilles's *cetera* and the modern *chitarra* are clearly at play in Aldigatti's citation of ancient practice. The linguistic and organological associations of the *chitarra* with the *kithara* in Italy go back at least to Tinctoris, who in the late fifteenth century described a four-string fretted instrument called a *cetole* as a derivate of the Greek lyre.²³ In fact, the classical

²¹ Jane A. Bernstein, *Print Culture and Music in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 147.

²² Marc'Antonio Aldigatti, *Gratie et affetti amorosi* (Venice: Magni, 1627).

²³ James Tyler, "Cittern," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 28 October 2006) <<http://www.grovemusic.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>>

resonance of the name "*chitarra*" might explain the favored nomenclature for instruments known in Italy during the seventeenth century as "*chitarre*." As Tyler has noted, the "*chitarra*", both in Italy and Spain during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, was also known alternatively as the "*viola*" in Italian and the "*vihuela*" in Spanish.²⁴ Aldigatti's language, in any case, illustrates how the instrument was used in the early seventeenth century to conjure ancient heritage and legitimacy.

Stefano Pesori created a similar legitimizing atmosphere in his introduction to the *Galeria musicale*, his second of two known *alfabeto* songbooks, published in 1648. In addition to namedropping the likes of Pythagoras, Pesori also noted the edifying affects of *cetra* playing in the lives of the notable Roman figures Titus, Hadrian, and Nero:

<p>Eccoti ò Gioventù virtuosa una Galeria Musicale, debole sì, mà honorato disegno della mia professione; desideroso di trattenerti alquanto, e ricercarti dallo studio migliore d'altre più necessarie, e più giovevoli discipline. T'arredo con alcune toccate di Chitarriglia l'armonia all'orecchio; non per lusingarti all'uso delle Sirene, mà per invaghirti sù l'opinione di Pitagora de i Cieli; à giudizio di Esso principalmente mirabili, perche armonici. Presso grand'huomeni non è affeminata, ò disprezzabile la Musica. Tito Imperatore (scrive Suetonio) la pratico. Adriano più volte deposto colle cure lo Scettro, si trattenne à delicie con una Cetra. Lo stesso Nerone, benchè spietato applaudendo musicalmente all'incendio ruine di Roma.²⁵</p>	<p>Here is, oh virtuous youth, a musical gallery--a lowly yet honorable sketch of my profession, since I am desirous of entertaining you for a while, and to keep you from the better of the other more necessary and beneficial disciplines. I bring to bear, with various <i>toccate</i> for the <i>Chitarriglia</i>, harmony for the ear; not for enticement as used by the Sirens, but to make you fond of the heavens, which according to the opinion of Pythagoras, are most wondrous because of their harmonies. Music for great men is not effeminate or despicable. Emperor Titus (writes Suetonius) practiced it; Hadrian many times left his cares and his sceptre to entertain delights with a kithara. Nero, despite his ruthlessness, did the same with musical applause at the fiery ruins of Rome.</p>
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²⁴ James Tyler, "Guitar," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 28 October 2006) <<http://www.grovemusic.com/content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>>

²⁵ Stefano Pesori, *Galeria musicale*, (Verona: Giovanni Battista & Fratelli Merli, 1648), 41.

In this passage, Pesori's moralizing tone is framed within an *apologia* on the *chitarriaglia*. He is moved to point out that although the sound of the instrument has the potential (reputation?) for tempting the spirit, the *cetra*—in the hands of Titus, Hadrian, and Nero—was capable of soothing even the most celebrated and notorious souls of the Roman Empire. Moreover, Pesori traces the noble heritage of the *chitarriaglia* back to the days of the ancient Romans, forging a historiography that serves to legitimize not only the *Galeria*, but Pesori's own professional status.

In the introduction to his other *alfabeto* song book, *Lo scrigno armonico*, Pesori goes a step further in establishing the ancient connotations of the *chitarriaglia*, noting that according to Marco Scacchi, the *chitarriaglia* surfaced in antiquity even before the kithara, and simultaneously with the harp:

<p>Mi resta per ultimo di far particolari queste lodi alla Chitarriaglia. Il Volgo tiene esser venuta dalle Spagne l'inventione di questo suono, forse perche essendo le sue correnti veramente d'oro nel valore, non possano derivare se non d'onde i fiumi corrono sù le rene dorate, come fà il Tago; chi hà pratica nei racconti dell'armonia scritti tanto eruditamente allo Scacchi, troverà che la Chitarriaglia è assai più antica delle Cetre, e gemella dell'Arpe.²⁶</p>	<p>At last, there remains for me to make these particular praises to the <i>Chitarriaglia</i>: The masses believe that the invention of this sound came from Spain perhaps because its currents of sound are worth as much as gold, and thus cannot flow except from where the rivers run on golden banks, as does the Tagus. He who has experience in the accounts of harmony written in such an erudite manner by [Marco] Scacchi will find that the <i>Chitarriaglia</i> is even more ancient than the <i>Cetre</i>, and is the twin of the harp.</p>
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While few *alfabeto* song composers go to such lengths in creating a historical vision of the *chitarriaglia* and *chitarra*, Pesori's statements demonstrate the desire to situate the instrument against the backdrop of ancient practice, thus validating its cultivation for his readers.

²⁶ Stefano Pesori, *Lo scrigno armonico* ([n.p.], 1640/48[?]).

The Souvenir/Vanity Press

As Lorenzo Bianconi has noted, seventeenth century printed music editions often served as admired "souvenirs" with little basis for future performances.²⁷ Margaret Murata believes the functioning of this type of musical publication to be indicative of a larger conceptualization of musical documents in early modern Europe:

In the seventeenth century...the score is not yet identical to the notion of "music." In manuscript, the score is still very much part of an artisan's kit. It can be a short-hand for obtaining a performance, or it can be an *exemplum* of a class of performance possibilities. The score is either a disposable part of the musical culture, or it is a sign of it. (Scores of modern pop music might be an equivalent.) In print, the score is quite often a counter or token in patron-artist relations as it is a functional tool for making music. Scores in the seventeenth century are by no means co-extensive with the repertory, actual or potential. They are the tip of another iceberg.²⁸

While *alfabeto* songs, too, address patrons and dedicatees in ways that reflect the "souvenir" press of the early seventeenth century, there are examples in the repertory where dedications employ language that goes beyond simply recognizing the munificence of a patron or dedicatee. Nicolò Fontei's opening statements in the dedication to Giorgio Nani of his *Bizzarrie poetiche* of 1636, for example, suggest that the composer envisioned for his music an audience outside Nani's circle:

²⁷ While his discussion is limited to printed editions of Lully's *tragédies lyriques* and early Italian court operas, Bianconi's observations could arguably be applied to other "noble" printed editions such as Monteverdi's fifth book of madrigals. See Lorenzo Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, trans. David Bryant (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 74-75.

²⁸ Margaret Murata, "Scylla and Charybdis, or Steering between Form and Social Context in the Seventeenth Century" in *Exploration in Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Essays in Honor of Leonard B. Meyer*, ed. Eugene Narmour and Ruth A. Solie (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon, 1988), 75.

Questi armoniosi concerti, detti Bizzarrie Poetiche, animati in gran parte dalla penna gentile del Sig. Giulio Strozzi per uso della di lui virtuosissima Cantaratrice, devono quasi merci d'honore sovra il picciol legno della mia sorgente fama pericolosamente incaminarsi per l'ampio Mare delle publiche stampe al dubbio porto dell'eternità. ²⁹	These harmonious <i>concerti</i> , called <i>Bizzarrie Poetiche</i> , were enlivened in great part by the kind pen of Signore Giulio Strozzi for usage by his most virtuous singer; they will, as treasured goods aboard the small ship of my inspired fame, dangerously make their way across the vast sea of public prints toward the doubtful port of eternity.
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The motives for publication in Fontei's case stand in striking contrast to those who envisioned their publications for the souvenir press. He informs his readership that the music printed within the publication is intended for performance (*per uso*) and equates the printing of the book (with an apt Venetian metaphor) to a ship transporting precious cargo toward the "doubtful port of eternity." Fontei sees music publishing as a commercial venture (music prints = *merci* = merchandise, wares, goods, etc.), and he is aware of the competitive nature of the Venetian music book trade while acknowledging the existence of his book within the larger market of public printed material.

To what extent did Fontei and others like him consider the entrepreneurial potential of publishing *alfabeto* songs? Nigel Fortune proposed the assumption that composers and publishers added *alfabeto* to increase the market value of their publications.³⁰ Evidence surrounding the commercial practices associated with *alfabeto* song printing may exist in sources that appear to obscure the patronage of an edition. Alessandro Vincenti and Giovanni Battista Robletti, for example, both printed *alfabeto* song books in which no dedicatee or patron is mentioned. The fact that we are left to speculate to what extent these editions were patronized or politically/financially

²⁹ Nicolò Fontei, *Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo* (Venice: Magni, 1636), 3.

³⁰ Fortune, "Italian Secular Song from 1600 to 1635: The Origins and Development of Accompanied Monody," Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1953, 146-7.

supported is important for considering the contexts and environments in which *alfabeto* song prints were created and subsequently disseminated. Failure to recognize patronage or dedication appears to stand in opposition to both the notion of “souvenir” or “vanity” prints as well as the standard practice of addressing or identifying patrons/dedicatees in Italian music prints after 1540.³¹ In total, there are fifteen *alfabeto* song sources printed without a dedication or mention of a patron (Table 1):

Table 1: *Alfabeto* songbooks printed without mention of a dedicatee or patron

Year	Composer (Editor), Title
1616	D'Aragona, Paolo. <i>Soavi ardori</i> .
1618	Various (ed. Stefani). <i>Affetti amorosi</i>
1627	Fasolo, Giovanni Battista. <i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
1628	Fasolo, Giovanni Battista. <i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
1628	Fedele, Giacinta. <i>Scielta di villanelle</i>
1632	Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo. <i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
1634	Various, (ed. A. Vincenti). <i>Arie de diversi</i>
1635	Abatessa, Giovanni Battista. <i>Cespuglio di varii fiori</i>
1640	Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Franceschi). <i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
1641	Ziani, Pietro Andrea. <i>Il primo libro di canzonette</i>
1650	Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. <i>Prima scielta di villanelle a una voce</i>
1652	Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. <i>Prima scielta di villanelle a due voci</i>
1660	Marchetti, Tomasso. <i>Il primo libro d'intavolatura</i>
1661	Millioni, Pietro. <i>Nuova corona d'intavolatura</i>
ca. 1665	Marchetti, Tomasso. <i>D'i[intavolatura . . .?]</i>

This information becomes even more exceptional when one considers that two of the *alfabeto* song books listed above are Robletti's only known secular vocal editions that leave unmentioned a dedicatee or patron.³² Even in the case of Robletti's most

³¹ Bernstein notes that dedications in Italian music prints began to flourish around 1538-40, *Print Culture and Music*, 145. Appendix B of Bernstein's *Print Culture and Music* illustrates that the overwhelming majority of Italian music prints published 1536-1572 acknowledge a dedicatee and/or patron. Mary S. Lewis dubbed Antonio Gardano's printing business a "vanity press," acknowledging the fundamental role of external patronage in the production of single-composer editions (103-08). See Lewis, *Antonio Gardano, Venetian Music Printer, 1538-1569*, 3 vols. (New York: Garland, 1988-2005), I: 108-9. Lewis also holds that the relatively few sixteenth-century music editions lacking a dedication or preface were presumably issued as "commercial ventures." Lewis, 109.

³² These prints are Giovanni Battista Fasolo's *Barchetta passaggiera* (1627) and *Il Carro di Madama Lucia* (1628).

“preferred” (and thus "in demand"?) composers such as Anerio and Cifra, not one of these composers’ secular vocal music editions omits mention of a patron or dedicatee.³³

With no explicit evidence of financial backing, patronage, or sponsorship, we are left to wonder if Robletti or the composers and printers represented above arranged the production of their *alfabeto* songbooks.

Il Teatro del mondo and astronomical phenomenon

Other themes that surface in *alfabeto* song publications, such as *il teatro del mondo*, situate the encomiastic writing of the dedications and letters within the standard practices of the sixteenth century.³⁴ Carlo Milanuzzi, for example, grandiloquently employs the metaphor of his compositions being transported onto the world's stage under performers' wings in a letter to "most courteous singers" his *Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* of 1622:

<p>A Cortesissimi Cantori: Questo mio Primo Scherzo d’Ariose Vaghezze se n’ esce al publico (gentilissimi Musici) assicurato sul’ Ali della vostra Amorosa accoglienza, sotto la cui bona fortuna volandosene per il gran Teatro del Mondo, spera felicissimo l’ arrivo sù le vostre virtuose mani.³⁵</p>	<p>To most courteous singers: This my first of cherished arias goes out to the public (most kind musicians). Assured in the wings of your loving acceptance, under whose good fortune it will go flying into the theater of the world, happily hoping for its arrival in your virtuous hands.</p>
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³³ According to the publication information listed in Cited in Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, (Pomezia and Geneva: Staderini-Minkoff, 1977) [hereafter "NV"]. Fortunately this bibliography records mention of dedicatees, patrons, editors, and printers of Italian secular vocal publications.

³⁴ For an overview of sixteenth-century dedication and letter writing in Italian music prints, see Bernstein, 105-07.

³⁵ Carlo Milanuzzi, *Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1622).

Likewise, Cherubino Busatti, writing in the dedication to Priamo da Lezze of his 1638 *Arie a voce sola*, singles out the role of print in the dissemination of his works into the "teatro del mondo":

Qesti parti primitie del mio, qualsi sia, ingegno, mentre ardisco porta gli per mezzo della Stampa all luce del Mondo, non doveano uscire à fare di se stessi in cosi ampio Teatro, pomposa mostra. ³⁶	These early works of my ordinary invention, while I venture to bring them through the means of a Print to the light of the world, should not have gone out in this sizeable theatre in a display of pomposity.
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The rhetorical strategy of invoking a *teatro del mondo* also surfaced in sixteenth and seventeenth century book titles. Publications such as Abraham Ortelius's *Teatrum mundi* of 1606, a geographical map of the world, Christopher Helvicus's *Teatrum historicum et chronologicum* of 1609, an early printed attempt at a universal timeline, and closer to our subject, Michael Praetorius's *Theatrum instrumentorum seu sciagraphia* of 1620, a pictorial encyclopedia of musical instruments, provide a sampling of early modern titles with allusions to this styling of the metaphor.³⁷ By 1600, the "theatrum mundi" had become a literary cliché, and *alfabeto* song composers/editors/publishers appear to be capitalizing on the literary currency of the phrase in stylizing the language of their dedications.³⁸

Another metaphorical trope employed by authors of *alfabeto* song print dedications and letters is the evocation of astronomical phenomena. Metaphors of this type, like "*il teatro del mondo*", are not foreign to dedications and letters outside the repertory or the seventeenth century. An early example of a dedication employing this

³⁶ Cherubino Busatti, *Arie a voce sola* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1638).

³⁷ For more on this type of fashioning of the metaphor in early modern Europe, see Ann Blair, *The Theater of Nature: Jean Bodin and Renaissance Science* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 153-179.

³⁸ On the ubiquity of the phrase at the beginning of the seventeenth century, see *ibid.*, 153.

type of metaphor in sixteenth century Italy is from Hippolito Chamateró's dedication to Cesare Gonzaga in his *Quarto libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* published in 1569:

<p>Suole valorissimo Signore, la virtù di quelli c'ha la benigna fortuna inalzati à piu sublimi gradi, tanto piu gli huomini destare ad imitarla, quanto quella si vede in maggior altezza collocata: Il che se agevole fù giamai per l'esempio di alcuno di vedere, non sia che piu di leggiero si sperì di poter hora conseguire, che da Vostra Signoria Illustrissima & Eccellentissima, la quale, per havere con si perfetta armonia, congiunta con la felice sua fortuna, tutti i beni dell'animo, ha in se potere d'invitar ciascuno à riverirla, & ammirarla, fra i quali anchor che chiara mi fusse la bassezza del mio stato, nondimeno si come la virtù del Sole, non à Diamanti & à Rubini risplende solamente, ma etiandio à pietre piu basse & humili, Così hà hauto insieme potere d'infiammarmi qualunque mi sia, l'ardentissimo raggio, del natio suo valore.³⁹</p>	<p>Your most valorous Signore: the <i>virtù</i> of whom has, by kind fortune, lifted these [works] to greater sublime levels, and which arouses humans to imitate it, such that one sees placed in oneself greater stature. If that [<i>virtù</i>] is never easy to see through the example of someone, it is because one cannot hope to obtain it with great ease; that of Your Most Illustrious and Excellent Highness, who, since having with such perfect harmony joined your happy fortune with the goods of the soul, has the power to invite everyone to revere you and admire you, I among those, though the baseness of my being is clear to me; nevertheless, just as the <i>virtù</i> of the sun does not merely illuminate Diamonds and Rubies, but also more lowly and humble stones, thus, the most ardent ray of your noble birth has likewise had the power to inflame me, common though I am.</p>
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A number of Chamateró's metaphorical references to the sun and luminescence reappear in the dedication language of seventeenth century *alfabeto* song prints. First is the comparison of the patron's qualities and *virtù* to those of the Sun (capital 'S'). Here Gonzaga is portrayed as illuminating Chamateró's humility and deep reverence for his benefactor, while at the same time, like the sun, emitting rays of valor and virtue that "inflame" the same spirit in the composer. Another element present in this passage that one encounters in later *alfabeto* song dedications is the decorative and poetic employment of parts of speech and turns of phrase that connote luminescence, radiance, and other sun-

³⁹ Hippolito Chamateró, *Quarto libro delli madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice: Scotto, 1569).

related phenomena (e.g. "chiara," "risplende," infiammarmi," "ardentissimo," "raggio," etc.).

In seventeenth-century *alfabeto* song prints, similar metaphorical procedures occur with some regularity, as demonstrated in the following examples:

<p>quale humilissimamente supplico à mirare questo mio, non dirò parto, ma più tosto aborto con l'occhio della sua singolarissima humanità, potendo à guisa di Sole illuminare co' suoi fecondissimi raggi le oscurissime tenebre del mio povero intelletto.⁴⁰</p>	<p>I most humbly beseech you to view my—I won't say creation (a miscarriage, more accurately)—through the eye of your most singular humanity; since you can, like the sun, illuminate the most obscure darkness of my poor intellect with your most fertile rays.</p>
<p>Spero bene che il Mondo sia per lodarmi d'ingegnoso, havendo io saputo nel nome di V.E. ritrovar il Sole, che farà luminosa ogni Aria ristretta in queste carte.⁴¹</p>	<p>I well hope that the world will praise me as ingenious, since I was able to find the likeness of the sun in the name of Your Excellency, which will make luminous each aria crammed in these pages.</p>

Guglielmo Miniscalchi, in his dedication to Carlo Rossi of the *Arie...libro terzo* of 1630, refines the astronomical scope of his metaphorical language to include references to the movement of the heavens. Also noteworthy is the persistent theme of light and color imagery that runs through the language, a fitting poetic strategy to honor the name of Miniscalchi's patron:

⁴⁰ Biagio Marini, *Scherzi, e canzonette* (Parma: Anteo Viotti, 1622).

⁴¹ Stefano Landi, *Arie a una voce* (Venice: Gardano, 1620).

<p>O come nasce à felice sorte questo mio infelice Parto, Illustrissimo Signor, se hora nel seno di V.S. Illustrissima felicemente raccolto può acquistar tanto di lume, che alla chiara luce della sua protezione sgombri da sè ogni ombra di contraria sorte. Egli è composto d'aria spirito vitale de gli elementi: e non contento di formar in se stesso l'armonia humana, e strumentale, aspira all celeste ancora, voglioso di velar la vera cagione del suo rossore col riflesso de i rosseggianti raggi di cortesto chiarissimo nome; che à guisa di Sole con armonica proportion si raggira frà gli altri Cieli, a prò de Corpi elementari, emisti.⁴²</p>	<p>O how my poor work was born for such a happy fate, Most Illustrious Signor, if it is now happily gathered in the breast of Your Most Illustrious Highness, acquiring such luminosity that it is cleared of each shade of contrary sorts by the bright light of your protection. [My work] was composed from the air of the vital spirit of the elements, and shapes itself through human and instrumental harmony; but not content with this it aspires beyond to the heavenly harmony, desirous to hide the true cause of its blushing with the reflection of the reddening rays of this most luminous name, which, in the manner of the Sun, revolves around bodies with harmonic proportion, for the benefit of the lesser elementary bodies.</p>
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In maintaining and expanding on the rhetorical strategies of "il teatro del mondo" and astronomical phenomena, authors of *alfabeto* song paratextual material demonstrate what kinds of themes and language proved to be effective in communicating with audiences (whomever they might be).

Titling Strategies

The titling strategies of *alfabeto* song composers and editors/publishers also reveal hints about the cultural significance and meaning of the repertory. It has long been noted that the Chiabreresque *canzonetta* and Marinist imagery serve as the poetic models and dominant literary influences of the *alfabeto* song repertory. As Robert Holzer observes, the cultivation of *canzonetta* verse attests to the fashion-consciousness of

⁴² Guglielmo Miniscalchi, *Arie...libro terzo* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1630).

composers and editors who issued *alfabeto* song books and other vocal prints that incorporated such language.⁴³ The appeal to literary fashion went beyond text setting in the *alfabeto* song repertory, as seen in the many titles that incorporate stylish literary imagery, such as *Soavi ardori* (= sweet labors), *Le stravaganze d'amore* (= the eccentricities of love), and *Bizzarrie poetiche* (= poetic bizzare things). As Giulio Ongaro has shown, the practice of advertising printed editions with attractive poetic titles originated with Venetian printers of musical anthologies in the 1560s (especially Girolamo Scotto), whose purpose was to "pique the curiosity of the public" presumably for commercial benefit.⁴⁴ In the tradition of late-sixteenth century Venetian musical anthologies, many (though not all) *alfabeto* song prints eschew standard mention of the musical genre in the title (e.g. "Salmi e motteti" and "Canzone napolitane") in favor of appending titles with a more fanciful and modern flavor (Table 2).

⁴³ Robert R. Holzer, "'Sono d'altro garbo...le canzonette che si cantano oggi,'" Pietro della Valle on Music and Modernity in the Seventeenth Century," *Studi Musicali* 21 (1992): 268-272.

⁴⁴ Giulio Ongaro, "Venetian Printed Anthologies of Music in the 1560s and the Role of the Editor," in *The Dissemination of Music: Studies in the History of Music Publishing*, ed. Hans Lenneberg (Lausanne: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 45.

Table 2: *Alfabeto* songbooks with attractive and fanciful titles

Year	Composer (Editor), Title
1612	Montesardo, Girolamo. <i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
1613	Giaccio, Orazio. <i>Armoniose voci</i>
1613	Various. <i>Orfeo</i>
1616	Salzilli, Crescenzo. <i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
1616	Salzilli, Crescenzo. <i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
1616	D'Aragona, Paolo. <i>Amorose querele</i>
1616	D'Aragona, Paolo. <i>Soavi ardori</i>
1616	Corradi, Flaminio. <i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
1618	Giaccio, Orazio. <i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
1618	Various (ed. Stefani). <i>Affetti amorosi</i>
1620	Olivieri, Giuseppe. <i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
1622	Guazzi, Eleuterio. <i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
1627	Fasolo, Giovanni Battista. <i>Barchetta passeggera</i>
1628	Fasolo, Giovanni Battista. <i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
1635	Fontei, Nicolò. <i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
1638	Gabrielli, Francesco. <i>Infermità, testamento e morte</i>
1640/48	Pesori, Stefano. <i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>

The *Bizzarrie poetiche* of Nicolo Fontei, published by Alessandro Vincenti in 1635 is one of the more striking examples of an *alfabeto* song print advertising its stylishness and modernity through its title. As Robert Holzer has noted, "bizzarro" was understood to signify musico-poetical objects of a fashionable modern sensibility to early modern Italians, primarily those akin to Marinism and Chiabrera's *canzonette*.⁴⁵ Holzer provides numerous reports of the popularity of things "bizzarro" among Italian readers, including the account of Tommaso Stigliani, a Roman literary connoisseur who voiced strong opposition to the poetry of Marino. In March of 1636, Stigliani writes:

⁴⁵ Holzer, 268-272.

<p>Un tempo i lettori si contentarono d'una lettera non cattiva, poi volsero eccellenza, apresso desiderano maraviglie, ed oggi cercano stupori; ma, dopo avergli trovati, gli hanno anco in fastidio ed aspirano a trasecolamenti ed a strabiliazioni. Che dobbiamo noi fare in così delicata età e bizzara, il cui gusto si è tanto incallito e tanto ottuso che ormai non sente più nulla?</p> <p>⁴⁶</p>	<p>At one time readers contented themselves with readings that were not bad, then they wanted excellence, then they desired marvels, and today they look for stupors; but after having found them, they hold them boring and aspire to amazements and to astonishments. What must we do in so indifferent a time and so <i>delicata</i> and <i>bizzara</i> an age, whose taste is so calloused and so obtuse that by now it no longer feels like anything?</p>
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Fontei and Vincenti, in selecting the title "*bizzarrie poetiche*" for a musical collection, speak to the stylistic awareness of their audience while at the same time accommodating the changing status of modern Italian taste.

The material presented here has attempted to show that composers and editors/publishers of *alfabeto* song collections assembled paratextual material with certain rhetorical strategies in mind. In many cases, these approaches echoed those of earlier years. In other cases, the older strategies were refined. These authors appear aware of themes and metaphors with traditional resonance such "il teatro del mondo" and astronomical science, while at the same time, incorporating modern appeals to literary fashion. One important theme that emerges from the paratextual material is the appropriation of antiquity to legitimize the cultivation of the *chitarra*. As will be shown in later chapters, the symbol of ancient authority manifests itself in various ways throughout the publication of *alfabeto* songs during the *seicento*. It will also later be demonstrated how the publication history of the repertory suggests an early and codified practice in circles of the Roman elite during the 1610s and 20s. Pietro della Valle, quoted earlier, mentioned that he learned to play the Spanish guitar in Naples sometime before

⁴⁶ Giambattista Marino, *Giambattista Marino: Epistolario seguito da lettere di altri scrittori del seicento*, ed. Angelo Borzelli and Fausto Nicolini (Bari: Laterza, 1911-12), 34. Trans. and cited in Holzer, 269.

1640.⁴⁷ Here it is worth mentioning that Della Valle was one of Giovanni Battista Doni's closest associates in Rome; Doni's enthusiasm for ancient Greek music persuaded several Roman composers (including Della Valle) to experiment with ancient instruments and theoretical systems.⁴⁸ *Alfabeto* songs were launched onto the Roman scene during a time when an acute sense of ancient authority figured prominently in the intellectual and aesthetic life of the city's musical elite. The following chapter serves to further contextualize the theme of antiquity and ancient authority as it relates to *alfabeto* song texts.

⁴⁷ Solerti, 169.

⁴⁸ Frederick Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 101-02.

Chapter 2: *Alfabeto* Song Texts and Pastoral Realism

As scholars have previously noted, the *canzonetta* inspired many of the song texts inscribed with *alfabeto*.⁴⁹ This is apparent in the number of *alfabeto* songbooks that advertise themselves as books of *canzonette*, as in the collections of *bellissime canzonette musicali* of Remigio Romano.⁵⁰ As a literary genre the *canzonetta* is noted for both its metrical and strophic formalism and pastoral subject matter.⁵¹ As Massimo Ossi has shown, the *canzonetta* served a variety of expressive needs in the music of Monteverdi, contrasting an earlier view that the *canzonetta* limited the expressive language of composers.⁵² In considering the prevalence of *canzonetta* poetry in the *alfabeto* song repertory, this chapter examines pastoral ideologies that were in circulation while the repertory was created and disseminated. Consequently, such themes as "authenticity," "realism," and "naturalness" that pervade the literary, scientific, and artistic pastoral imagination also figure prominently in the *alfabeto* song language. Before undertaking an analysis of the *alfabeto* texts themselves, it will be necessary to first examine how these ideologies of pastoralism gained currency among Italian writers, scientists, and musical authors of the *seicento*.

⁴⁹ Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 190-93.

⁵⁰ Apart from Romano's collections, other books with "*canzonetta*" in their title are: Borlasca (1612), *Canzonette a tre voci*; Marini (1622), *Scherzi, e canzonette*; Manzolo (1623) *Canzonette*; Sabbatini (1641), *Varii capriccii e canzonette*; Ziani (1641), *Il primo libro di canzonette*; Anonymous (1657) *Canzonette spirituali, et morali*; and Anonymous (1659), *Nuove canzonette musicali*. In addition to these are numerous editions with literary titles that advertise "*canzonetta*" on the title page. Stefani's anthologies *Scherzi amorosi* and *Concerti amorosi*, for example, are subtitled on their frontispieces as "*canzonette in musica/ad una voce*."

⁵¹ Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 153; 210-14.

⁵² See Massimo Ossi, "'Ordine novo, bello et gustevole': The Canzonetta as Dramatic Module and Formal Archetype," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 45 (1992): 261-304. Tomlinson argues that strophic forms such as the *canzonetta* "usually placed severe limitations on his [Monteverdi's] rhetorical response to the text." See Tomlinson, 211.

Literary Realism in the Pastoral after Guarini

As Annabel Patterson has shown, the patterns of pastoral ideology varied greatly during the Renaissance, and were often used to reinforce civic and political values.⁵³ In Italy, the mainstream pastoral ideology of the court establishment was expressed through humanist exegeses of Virgil and Theocritus. For example, the pastoral commentaries of Poliziano, Landino, and other scholars associated with the Medici during the last half of the *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* sought to establish the pastoral as noble allegory, and drew on the rich imagery of pastoral texts to build an iconography that remained associated with Medici rule for several generations.

In its vernacular state, nearly a century after Poliziano, the pastoral and its allegorical vocabulary underwent a series of transformations. By the time of the printing Guarini's *Il Pastor fido* (1590), the pastoral emerged as a source of literary, philosophical, and moral debate. The attacks launched against *Il Pastor fido* as it circulated in manuscript throughout the 1580s, spearheaded by the moral philosopher Iasone De Nores, viewed Guarini's work as a threat to humanist pastoral ideology. As *tragicommedia*, argues De Nores, *Il Pastor fido* neglected to align itself fully with any single moral-edifying genre espoused by Aristotle.⁵⁴ De Nores, a professor of moral philosophy at the University of Padua, published his complaints against Guarini's pastoral and its inability to neatly fit into the categories of tragedy, comedy, or epic. These accusations were echoed among Catholic reformers, noted in the regular inclusion of *Il Pastor fido* among officially sanctioned lists of banned book titles published throughout

⁵³ Annabel M. Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valery* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 62-77.

⁵⁴ Tomlinson, 18.

the early *seicento*.⁵⁵ Guarini's response to the attacks published in 1588 led to what some scholars have called the last great Italian literary polemic of the sixteenth century.⁵⁶

With *Il Pastor fido*, the pastoral mode slowly began to assert its independence from the glosses of humanist allegories—so dear to De Nores and his fellow conservative critics—not only through a departure from Aristotelian formalism, but also through an updated vocabulary of pastoral ideology. Perhaps the most famous example of pastoral revisionism is Giambattista Marino's *L'Adone*, which sparked its own heated literary debate soon after it was published in 1623 (a debate that continued well into the eighteenth century). Another path of pastoral ideological change emerged from a group of poets and writers who developed themes of pastoral “authenticity,” involving the mapping of mythological pastoral sensibilities onto real and contemporaneous spaces, people, and localities. Quinto Marini describes this ideological revision of the pastoral as exemplified in Gian Vincenzo Imperiale’s pastoral poem *Lo Stato Rustico* (1607):

⁵⁵ Paul F. Grendler, *The Roman Inquisition and the Venetian Press* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977).

⁵⁶ Tomlinson, 18.

<p><i>Lo Stato Rustico</i> segna...dalla poesia pastorale di ascendenza arcadia sannazzariana (in cui si erano inseriti <i>l'Aminta</i> e <i>Il Pastor fido</i>, e che si sarebbe baroccamente evoluta nell'<i>Adone</i>, non a caso con l'autorizzazione proprio di Clizio-Imperiale) verso un a poesia che potremmo definire “di villa”; e “civiltà di villa” potremmo chiamare quella qui ricostruita dal poeta. L'epicentro politico di questa nuova civiltà è uno spazio reale: la grandiosa villa della famiglia Imperiale di Sampierdarena, con l'immenso giardino che ascende in ordinati gradoni la collina di fronte al mare.⁵⁷</p>	<p><i>Lo Stato Rustico</i> represents the transition from the [kind of] pastoral poetry handed down from the verses of Sannazzaro's <i>Arcadia</i> (into which had been inserted <i>L'Aminta</i> and <i>Il Patsor fido</i>, which would evolve into the baroque <i>Adone</i>, not incidentally with the express authorization of for Clizio-Imperiale), toward a [new] poetry that can be defined “of the villa”; and we can call what the poet reconstructs a “culture of the villa”. The political epicenter of this new culture is a real space: the grandiose <i>villa</i> of the Imperiale family of Sampierdarena, with the immense garden that climbs in orderly levels over the hill that faces the sea.</p>
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Marini notes similar traces of pastoral authenticity in the *novelle Le instabilità dell'ingegno* (1635) by Anton Giulio Brignole Sale and *Arcadia in Brenta* (1667) by Giovanni Sagredo, the latter singled out because of its cultural and social significance. As Marini explains, pastoral authenticity emerges as an important theme in Sagredo's text, noted in the interactions between the noble company vacationing at their villa in the Veneto countryside and the shepherds, farmers, and country maidens that inhabit their immediate surroundings:

<p>E si veda il peculiare rapporto della nobile brigata col mondo contadino; un mondo davvero “arcadico” e tranquillizante, “civile” nello suo aggraziatissimo garbo, di così forte attrazione non solo sotto l'aspetto paesaggistico, ma anche umano e sociale.⁵⁸</p>	<p>One sees a peculiar rapport between the noble company and the peasant world; a world indeed “arcadian” and peacefully “civil” in its most gentle-mannered courtesy, so strongly attractive from not only a picturesque point of view, but also a human and social one.</p>
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Marini points to the *Giornata Sesta* (Sixth day) as an illustration of the cultural immersion of the noble company into the peasant world:

⁵⁷ Quinto Marini, “Barocco in villa. Le ingegnose arcadie del Seicento,” in *I capricci di proteo. Percorsi e linguaggi del barocco*, ed. Enrico Malato (Rome: Salerno editrice, 2002), 336-7.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 367.

<p>Dimandò Laura all'intendente della casa se v'erano in quella villa di belle contadine.- Bellissime, rispose, perché noi siamo vicini alla città e abbiamo qualche cosa di più civile praticando frequentemente la nobiltà. Sta qui prossima la villa del Dolo, dove vi sono una mano di fanciulle che, non lavorando la campagna, si conservano bianche come il giglio, rubiconde come la rosa. Danzano a meraviglia e cantano poi di leggiadrissime villanelle all'uso del loro paese.⁵⁹</p>	<p>Laura asked the head of the household if there were in that <i>villa</i> any beautiful country girls. "Most beautiful ones," he replied, "since we are near the city and have something more civil [about us] in our frequent contact with the nobility. Nearby is the <i>villa</i> of Dolo, where there are a handful of young girls who, not having worked the countryside, have been preserved white as a lily and as ruby red as a rose. They dance marvelously and then sing most lovely <i>villanelle</i> according to their local customs".</p>
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A number of interesting relationships form as a result of this intersection of contrasting social groups. First the strong sense of voyeurism evoked on the part of the noble company objectifies the country folk and reinforces existing political and economic hierarchies. The descriptions of the clothing, the dancing, and the music of the country girls underscore the theatricality of the scene as well as the cultural difference between the groups, adding a dimension of "otherness" that personifies the spectacle. At the same time, the noble company becomes enamored not only by the purity and naturalness of the country girls, but also by the songs and dances of their indigenous surroundings. Experiencing rural "authenticity" is for the noble company a great source of enjoyment, moving them—at one point—to participate in the spectacle "*secondo il costume del paese*" (according to the customs of the country):

⁵⁹ Giovanni Sagredo, *L'Arcadia in Brenta, ovvero la melanconia sbandita di Ginnesio Gavardo Vacalerio* (Cologne: Francesco Kinchio, 1667), 351.

Unitemente, senza esimere né meno il Sig. Silvio, ch'era il piú attempato. e così datasi la mano e formato in circolo, si principiò la danza secondo il costume del paese. ⁶⁰	All together, without excluding even Sig. Silvio, who was the most elderly, they began to form a circle holding hands, and started to dance according to the customs of the town.
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Marini reads this climactic moment as the transformation of the mythological Arcadia into a real living Arcadia; a rustic paradise that attempts to level social and cultural inequality. As the pastoral landscape migrates from the hills and fields of Arcadia to the Brenta plain, shepherds and nymphs are replaced with modern-day shepherds, farmers, and maidens.

The pastoral “realism” of *L’Arcadia in Brenta* surfaced in other spheres of expression including science, architecture, and music. The “authentic” pastoral world, for example, was prized and consulted for its empirical knowledge about the natural world. Leonardo Fiorivanti and Paolo Boccone wrote extensively on the scientific wisdom of farmers, and noted the debts that the academic community owed to them in the fields of botany, medicine, and geology. Boccone, a botanist employed by the Medici during the mid-seventeenth century, regarded visits to countryside farms and homes as academic “conferences” for students of medicine, noting in particular the vast knowledge of soil, plants, and animals in rural societies.⁶¹ Along similar lines, the famous Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio applied the structural designs of agrarian farmhouses and granaries to several of his notable villas erected in the late sixteenth century.⁶²

⁶⁰ Ibid., 351-2.

⁶¹ Piero Camporesi, *The Anatomy of the Senses: Natural Symbols in Medieval and Early Modern Italy*, trans. Allan Cameron (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1994), 186-91.

⁶² These villas include Villa Emo, Fanzolo Villa Barbaro, Maser, Villa Saraceno, Finali di Agugliaro. See Martin Kubelik, “Palladio’s Villas in the Tradition of the Veneto Farm,” *Assemblage* 1 (1986): 90-115.

Rural or pastoral authenticity was given specific attention by Vincenzo Giustiniani in his *Discorso sopra la musica* (1628), in which the author cites the superior natural grace apparent in the singing and dancing of southern Italian peasants:

<p>E che sia il vero che la grazia del cantare sia parte proveniente della natura e non l'arte...si conosce talvolta perchè tal cantante ad uno parrà grazioso et ad un altro nojoso...et il simile si potrebbe dire dell'altre cose che tacerò per brevità. Non però mi pare di tralasciare un effetto mirabile, che dalla musica e dal suono procede e si è continuamente osservato da molto tempo in qua nella Puglia e nel Regno di Napoli nelle persone che sono morsicate dalla tarantola, o sia soffritto, come in que' luoghi si suol dire...tra molte altre arie e musiche e suoni, che si fanno sentire a gl'infermi, li quali sentono giovamento solamente da un suono o da una musica...È perchè quando questi tali non restano liberati, in ciascun anno nella stagione nella quale furono offesi, vengono riassaliti dal tormento, così con i suoni e canti diversi si procura darli occasione, se non di remedio, almeno di refrigerio, che ricevono molto maggiore che da gl'altri rimedi di medici.⁶³</p>	<p>And that it is true that grace in singing is something provided by nature and not by art...is understood since sometimes singing will appear pleasing to one person and boring to another...and the like can be said of other things that I will leave unspoken for the sake of brevity. I must not, however, fail to mention an astonishing effect of music and sound that proceeds from and has been continually observed for some time—in Puglia and in the kingdom of Naples—in people who have been bitten by a tarantula, or "fried" as it is said in those places...Among many other tunes, music, and sounds that are performed for the sickened ones, those that comfort them come only from one sound or one [kind of] music...And when these people are not cured, each year in the season in which they became afflicted, they are attacked by the [same] torment. Thus with diverse sounds and songs they become if not cured, then at least given some relief, which is considered much greater than the other remedies given by doctors.</p>
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The musical practices of these rural societies, according to Giustiniani, were akin to ancient musical practices, as he goes on to say:

⁶³ Solerti, 116-7.

Potrei a questo proposito addurre li molti e varij effetti che gl'autori antichi scrivono della musica usata da gl'Arcadi, et altre favolette, come delle Sirene, d'Anfione, di Marsia, d'Arione, d'Apollo, delle Muse e d'Orfeo, e dell'altre narrate per vere, atte a muovere gl'animi degl'ascoltatori a diverse e contrarie azioni, con la diversità della maniera e del modo. ⁶⁴	To this point I could mention the many and varied effects that the ancient authors ascribe to the music used by the Arcadians and those of other fables, such as the Sirens, Amphion, Marsyas, Arion, Apollo, the Muses, and Orpheus; and others that have been told as truth, able to move the spirits of their listeners to diverse and contrary actions according to the diversity of the manner and style.
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In associating the musical abilities of his southern countrymen with those of the ancients, Giustiniani further ascribes a special aesthetic legitimacy as well as a great sense of empowering authenticity to rural southern Italian music.

Pastoral Realism and Ancient Authenticity in *Seicento* Music

Giustiniani's "ancient validation" of rural, pastoral, and rustic musical practices has antecedents in musical writings from authors up to two and three generations before his own. As Claude Palisca, Donna Cardamone, and Barbara Russano Hanning have noted, concordances between ancient musical practice and modern (= Renaissance) rural musical traditions appear in Vincenzo Galilei's appraisals of a cultivated solo song tradition, often considered one of the pillars of late-Renaissance musical aesthetics.⁶⁵ In Galilei's attacks on polyphonic music, both in the *Dialogo* and the *Dubbio*, he argues for the melodic and harmonic imitation of the rustic and pastoral world, past and present. Galilei equates the lyric qualities of ancient song with the *arie* of contemporary

⁶⁴ Ibid., 117.

⁶⁵ Claude Palisca, "Vincenzo Galilei and Some Links Between 'Pseudo-Monody' and Monody," *Musical Quarterly* 46 (1960): 344-360; Cardamone, 1: 62-65; and Barbara Russano Hanning, *Of Poetry and Music's Power: Humanism and the Creation of Opera* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980).

shepherds and peasant workers, and grants their expressive potential superior to the great sixteenth-century polyphonic tradition.⁶⁶ By virtue of their aesthetic correspondence with ancient tradition, rustic and peasant songs maintain a certain level of “pastoral” authenticity for Galilei, even more so than the stylized *villanesche* and *villotte* of his contemporaries.

Girolamo Mei, Galilei’s predecessor in the quest for musical understanding about the ancient world, turned his attention toward poetic meter and versification in establishing a pastoral or rustic musical authentic. In a manuscript that survives in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, Mei sketches the *maniere* of various forms of Tuscan verse, noting for example, the profundity of *endecasillabi* or the gracefulness of *settenari*. *Ottonari*, on the other hand, are best suited for “*cose villesche*”, “peasant things,” that is, the songs of shepherds and lower class individuals.⁶⁷ As Hanning has demonstrated, Galilei and Mei’s observations on the songs of peasant and rustic/rural culture contributed to the poetic identity of Orfeo, Caronte and other “pastoral” and “simple” characters of the early music drama libretto.⁶⁸

The issue of authenticity and antiquity captured the historical, theoretical, and practical musical imagination of the Florentine Camerata and its orbit. In the preface to his *Le nuove musiche*, Giulio Caccini noted the lessons learned from his discussions with Vincenzo Galilei, Mei, and others on the qualities of ancient music, stating:

⁶⁶ These citations are noted and expanded upon in Cardamone, 1: 62, and Palisca, 93.

⁶⁷ Hanning, 33, 156, 353.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 155-59.

<p>...a volere che ella possa penetrare nell'altrui intelletto e fare quei mirabili effetti che ammirano gli scrittori, e che non potevano farsi per il contrappunto nelle moderne musiche: e particolarmente cantando un solo sopra qualunque strumento di corde, che non se ne intendeva parola per la moltitudine di passaggi, tanto nelle sillabe brevi quanto lunghi...Là onde, dato principio in quei tempi a quei canti per una voce sola, parendo a me che avessero più forza per dilettere e muovere, che fa più voce insieme, composi in quei tempi, i madrigali...e particolarmente l'aria...in quello stile proprio, che poi mi servì per le favole che in Firenze si sono rappresentate cantando....Ove fatti udire detti madrigali et aria in casa del signor Nero Neri a molti gentilhuomini, che quivi s'adunavano...tutti possono rendere buna testimonianza quanto mi esortassero a continovare l'incominciata impresa, dicendomi perfino a quei tempi non avere udito mai armonia d'una voce sola, sopra un semplice strumento di corda, che avesse avuto tanta forza di muovere l'affetto dell'animo quanto quei madrigali.⁶⁹</p>	<p>[The Camerata urged me] to aspire that it could penetrate the intellect of others and make those [same] wonders that are admired by the ancient writers, which can not emanate from the counterpoint of modern compositions: particularly when sung alone to some stringed instrument, so that one cannot comprehend the words because of the multitude of <i>passaggi</i> on short syllables as much as in long ones...Wherefore, having in those times begun these songs for one voice alone, it seemed to me they had more power to delight and move than those for several voices together, I composed in those days madrigals...and in particular, a tune in that style which then served me for the <i>favole</i> sung on the stage in Florence...[In Rome] I made these madrigals and this tune heard at the home of Signor Nero Neri for many gentlemen who frequented it...all can make the good testimony of how much they urged me to continue this enterprise thus started, telling me that even in those times one had never heard the harmony of only one voice with a simple stringed instrument that had so much force to move affection of the spirit as did those madrigals.</p>
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Caccini argues that in order to tap into the power of ancient music, one must essentially “become” an ancient musician. It is interesting to note that while Caccini is advertising the modernity and singular innovation of his art, his approach to singing as described here is approvingly and consciously anachronistic. This authentic performance aesthetic was advanced some years earlier by Galilei in the *Dubbi*, perhaps the source of Caccini’s musical convictions. In what Palisca describes as Galilei’s decoding the “secret of the

⁶⁹ Solerti, 57-8.

Greek art [music],” the manner of singing attributed to the Greek musician Olympos becomes for Galilei the model for ancient musical practice:

Using many notes is artificial. This suits instruments, which are products of art, when playing alone; but not at all voices, which are produced by nature, whether they are singing alone or to the sound of some instrument. The latter kind of singing succeeds very well provided one knows that part of the rules of counterpoint which is adequate for this end. And, if someone were to ask me, since it is natural for a man to be able to reach with his voice eight or ten notes without straining, whether therefore all notes outside of the three or four used by Olympos were to be scorned – I would reply in this way. The three or four that Olympos used in one song were not apt for expressing all the passions and affections of the soul. The three or four notes that a tranquil soul seeks are not the same as those which suit an excited spirit, or one who is lamenting, or a lazy or somnolent one...In this way the musician will tend to use now these and another time others according to the affections he wants to represent and impress on the listener.⁷⁰

A “limitation of means” (Palisca’s phrase) advocated by Galilei and echoed in Caccini was deemed critical for effective and authentic singing; this has obvious implications for a repertory associated with shepherds, peasants, and *cose villesche*. Moreover, the authentic way to perform in such a manner was to sing alone to a stringed instrument. Identical readings of ancient musical authority around the turn of the century further reveal prevailing attitudes about musical authenticity and simplicity.

Galilei himself continually promoted an ideal modern musician based on the qualities of ancient musicians according to ancient Greek texts in translation. As in previously mentioned accounts of ancient performance, Galilei illustrates ancient authenticity through the solo singing to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument. In his *Dialogo della musica antica, et della moderna*, Galilei cites Aristotle’s *Problems on Music* in addressing specifically the performance style of the ancients as follows:

⁷⁰ Cited and translated in Palisca, “Pseudo-Monody and Monody,” 347.

The ancient Greek and Latin actors recited their comedies and tragedies to the sound of the tibia and of the kithara, whence it was necessary to adjust them to suit the high, low, and middle ranges, according to the quality of the characters that took part.⁷¹

And in explaining further this ancient musical performance style, Galilei again calls on the traditions of rural musicians in his own time:

When shepherds and workers in the fields were finished with their labors they turned for solace to the popular airs, which they sang to the strumming of some instrument.⁷²

More specifically, the interlocutors Strozzi and Bardi in the *Dialogo* cite the musical practices of peasant and urban street culture as embodying the effects of ancient musical practice:

Strozzi: Those who sang to the aulos could not play and sing at the same time, unless some sack that they first filled with air breathed little by little into the aulos while they sang, or if they had some bellows fitted under the armpit, as I once saw a Neapolitan juggler do. While conversing with spectators, he very decently played his bagpipe fitted with several auloi to which he supplied wind with such dexterity that it was difficult for the listeners to notice how the instrument was blown at the same time as he played and sang. The Blind Man of Forlì does this today, as you may have seen. He has a boy who supplies wind to direct his flute while he sings various airs and closes and opens his holes with his fingers according to the needs of his song. This is different from what a little while ago I said Marsyas did, who with his own breath and fingers played two auloi at the same time.

⁷¹ Hanning, 17.

⁷² Ibid., 347,

Bardi: The music by those who simply played an instrument or knew only how to sing, or when songs were performed in the manner just described, was for the most part brief simple airs, created for no other purpose than to please the common people. On one of those airs they repeated the same music for each group of two, three, or four lines, not unlike what we hear everyday when a *capitolo* is sung to the lute, as also in dance songs of the people, peasants and such, This sort of playing and singing was very frequently used together with dance in the choruses of the satyr play, comedy, and tragedy. The chorus sang the air that best suited the expression of the sentiment at hand to the accompaniment of an aulos or other instrument, no differently than we described concerning the dithyramb.⁷³

This authoritative character image of the ancient musician as singer with stringed accompaniment, not surprisingly, also surfaced on the early musical stage with some regularity. In Rinuccini's libretto to Jacopo Peri's setting of *La Favola di Dafne*, for example, the drama begins featuring Ovid, the ancient voice of the pastoral, singing the following lines of the prologue: "I, Ovid who sang so sweetly on the learned lyre about the flames of heavenly mortals...I appear to you tonight, o mortals."⁷⁴

Apollo too, in Rinuccini and Monteverdi's collaboration *Arianna*, presents himself in the prologue armed with *kithara* in hand, a depiction likely to have been inspired by Plato's rendering of the Greek God in the *Republic*. La Musica herself, in Striggio and Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, is personified according to similar traits:

⁷³ Ibid., 345-46.

⁷⁴ Cited and translated in *ibid.*, 6.

<p>Io la Musica son, ch' ai dolci accenti So far tranquillo ogni turbato core, Ed or di nobil ira ed or d'amore Poss' infiammar le più gelate menti.</p> <p>Io su cetera d'or cantando soglio Mortal orecchio lusingar talora E in questa guisa a l'armonia sonora De la lira del ciel più l'alme invoglio.⁷⁵</p>	<p>I am Music, who, through sweet <i>accenti</i> Know how to make peaceful each troubled heart, And now with noble anger and now with love Can inflame the most frozen minds.</p> <p>I, singing to my golden kithara, am accustomed to At times enticing mortal ears, And in this way I invite souls even more to [hear] the sonorous harmony of the lyre of heaven.</p>
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The inevitable connection between images of ancient musical authority on the early *seicento* musical stage and the figure of the peasant as embodying pastoral authenticity continued to surface in musical writings later in the century. Compiled around 1650, the *Discorsi e regole sopra la musica* of Severo Bonini closes the dialogue between Don Severo and his pupil Filareto with the maestro's observations on the roles of peasants and female singers of (presumably) *sacre rappresentazioni* and the preservation of Latin and Italian musical rhetoric:

<p>... perche il medesimo è occorso di questo Stile moderno, come delle parole, ò vocaboli della lingua latina, e della nostra toscana, le quali havendo smarrito molti vocaboli proprij, rispetto al gran concorso di genti barbare, mediante le continove guerre, si sono salvati benissimo nelli contadini, come lontani dal praticar la Citta; si mantiene ancora in alcune arie che sono esercitate dalle Donne nel rappresentare sopra delle Scene, Rosana, Uliva, et altre simili Sante.⁷⁶</p>	<p>...for what you have observed with regard to the modern [<i>recitativo</i>] style can also be observed in the case of Latin or Tuscan words and expressions (lost through the influx of barbarian peoples due to continual warfare) which have been perfectly preserved among peasants far from contact with the city, and can be heard today in some airs that are sung by women in the staged performances of Rosana, Uliva, and other similar saints.</p>
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⁷⁵ Claudio Monteverdi and Alessandro Striggio, *l'Orfeo. Favola in musica* (Venice: Amadino, 1609).

⁷⁶ Severo Bonini, *Discorsi e regole sopra la musica* (ms. [ca. 1650]), cited and translated in *Discorsi e regole*, ed. by Mary Ann Bonino (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1979), 180.

Bonini's depiction of the "authentic" voice of the peasants finds resonance in the court of Cosimo II de' Medici, where a shepherd named Giovanni Dionosio Peri was employed during the early seventeenth century to showcase his poetic and musical talent.⁷⁷

All of these examples communicate a strong sense of "realism" that emerged from the Italian musical consciousness from the latter part of the 1500s and into the first decades of the seventeenth century. Madrigal part-singing and polyphonic music in general were seen by Galilei and others as obstacles in achieving the expressive potential of musical practice equal to that of the ancients. No doubt these attitudes about musical authenticity heightened the notoriety of solo singing that Caccini and others advertised as "new" developments of musical expression early in the *seicento*. Yet, as has been demonstrated, oftentimes this search for musical authenticity motivated authors to locate traces of ancient practices in the activities of Italian peasants.

Pastoral Authenticity and Musical Organology

The juxtaposition of the real rustic/peasant/pastoral world with the musical world of antiquity to assess and locate authenticity surfaced in other musical texts during the seventeenth century. The year 1600 saw the publication of Giovanni Lorenzo Baldano's *Libro per scrivere l'intavolatura per sonare le sordelline*, an instruction manual on how to play the *sordellina*, an instrument modeled after the *sampogne*, both of which are still heard to this day in rural southern Italy and Sicily. The *sordellina* is commonly understood by scholars as a failed academic invention meant to portray the wind pipes of Arcadia and ancient Greece. This view is informed primarily by the remarks of Emilio de' Cavalieri (as recounted by Alessandro Guidotti) and Vincenzo Giustiniani; the former

⁷⁷ Giovanni Kezich and Maurizio Agamennone, *I poeti contadini. Introduzione all'ottava rima: immaginario poetico e paesaggio sociale* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1986), 115-18.

calling for the instrument in his *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo* to imitate “tibiae all’anticae,” the latter abhorring the instrument due to its unsuitability for singing.⁷⁸ At the same time, the instrument acquired a great deal of “authentic” validation because it could be seen as both a remnant of ancient culture and an instrument through which one could channel the power of ancient music. This is clear from the numerous accounts of the *sordellina*’s hereditary relationship to the *sampogna* and the pastoral (ancient and modern) iconography that documents the instrument’s cultural relevance.⁷⁹ The *sordellina* created a lineage from antiquity to modern times, and asserted the Italian inheritance of ancient culture. If taken at his word, Giustiniani only emphasizes that degree with which the *sordellina* might have resonated with ancient culture. Perhaps the visibility of the instrument—the physical embodiment of antiquity—was valued over its musical function.

The examples above demonstrate how instrumental practice could serve as explicators of rural/pastoral authenticity. As embodiments of authenticity, instruments enabled musicians to assert the authority of antiquity through aural and visual means. Rearticulated images such as Orpheus and his *kithara* helped to circulate the close associations among plucked and strummed stringed instruments with ancient authority, and musical authenticity. The physical appropriation of ancient authority is noted in other instrument “inventions” like the *sordellina*: perhaps the most famous is the *lyra*

⁷⁸ Cavalieri/Guidotti: “E perchè in alcune sue arie particolari par che abbia imitato (per quella notizia che se ne può avere) appunto l’uso loro, et egli medesimo pur loda che sia talora qualche dialogo pastorale suonato e cantato all’antica, come s’è detto, ne ho voluto mettere un esempio in fine di quest’opera il cui canto doverà essere accompagnato da dua flauti, ò vero dua tibiae all’antica che noi chiamiamo sordelline.” Solerti 2-3. Giustiniani: “La Sordellina fu inventava anche in Napoli et introdotta in Roma, ove non ha poi continuato, per essere stromento imperfetto, e che solo gusta alquanto la prima colta che si sente, e poi, non havendo molto varietà nelle consonanze nè servendo al cantare, viene facilmente a noia.” Solerti, 126.

⁷⁹ Febo Guizzi and Roberto Leydi, *Le zampogne in Italia*, 2 vols., (Milan: Ricordi, 1985). For evidence of the pastoral iconography of the instrument, see especially vol. 1., ch. 1 “Le zampogne meridionali,” 31-109.

barberina of G.B. Doni, an instrument designed to accurately depict the microtonal intervals that result from dividing the ancient Greek enharmonic *genus*.⁸⁰ Like the *sordellina* and *lyra barberina*, the *chitarra* held a certain amount of authenticity not only because of its connections to ancient culture (*kithara* = *chitarra*) but also because of its perceived rural and folk origins, particularly in Naples and areas of the Italian south.⁸¹ As seen in the previous chapter, *alfabeto* song composers at times went to great lengths to assert the ancient heritage of the *chitarra*. On the same token, the titles, characters, and stories of *alfabeto* song texts reveal similar demands to connote the repertory with ancient resonance.

Pastoral/Ancient Authenticity in *Alfabeto* Song Texts

The changing pastoral ideology after Guarini altered the language of pastoral poetry. Non-Virgilian and Theocritan figures such as Adonis, Cloris, Lidia, and Christ were (re-)introduced to the language of the pastoral and offered authors and composers opportunities to express the pastoral world in versatile ways. *Alfabeto* song texts were composed and borrowed within the milieu of this changing pastoral ideology, noted foremost in the pastoral quality of *alfabeto* text titles, subjects, and characters. Further examination of the subject matter of *alfabeto* texts reveals a perceptible absence of references to Ovidian pastoral plots, images, and characters such as Dafne, Orfeo, and Euridice, subjects that remained inseparable from staged music drama. The ideological distinction between *alfabeto* texts and early music drama libretti is emphasized here to demonstrate the dynamic quality of pastoral interpretation and further, to introduce the

⁸⁰ Hammond, 101.

⁸¹ This subject will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

question of what motivated *alfabeto* song poets to remain faithful to certain pastoral typologies.

It should be noted that while many *alfabeto* texts embody strong stylistic similarities to the poetry of Guarini, Marino, and most noticeably Chiabrera, most of the poems are anonymously composed. In fact, part of what makes the *alfabeto* song repertory so unique is that, as Roark Miller has argued, the poems were themselves in all likelihood authored by the composers of the musical settings.⁸² This allows not only for a more intimate reading of musico-textual relationships, but also enables modern readers to identify specific *alfabeto* song poetry typologies, as most of the poems were composed as *alfabeto* song lyrics. The following examples serve to demonstrate how certain *alfabeto* song texts emphasize a pastoral ideology of realism, authenticity, and naturalness.

Valvasensi (1634)

The kinds of poetry selected by composers of *alfabeto* songs reveal a desire to authenticate the pastoral world, noted foremost in Lazzaro Valvasensi's *Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori* (Venice: Magni, 1634). In the final setting of this collection, "Gioldin gioldin," Valvasensi claims that "[le] Parole sentire a[l] cantare da doi contadine furlane et poste in musica dall'autore" ("the words were heard sung by two Friulian country women and set to music by the author").⁸³ Much like the noble company in Sagredo's *Arcadia in Brenta*, Valvasensi's quest for evoking the "real thing" led him directly to the source. With an almost folkloristic desire to capture the peasants' song in their "natural" state, Valvasensi printed the words of the text in the original Friulian dialect. This kind of pastoral message serves to transport the soundworld of the peasants

⁸² Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 100-01.

⁸³ NV 2792.

directly to the performer and listener. The pastoralism is imbued with a strong sense of connection between rural life and the world of performer, providing a bridge that joins arcadia with the modern world.

Fa la ninna nanna

Joachim Steinheuer parallels Valvasensi's search for "authenticity" in "Gioldin, gioldin" with Nicolò Rubini's setting of "Fa la ninna," from the *Coppia de baci allettatrice al bacio* (Venice, 1613), in which the text is printed in Modenese dialect and with the subtitle: "La mamma cantatrice alla modenese."⁸⁴ This earliest printed musical example of a *ninna-nonna*, or "lullaby," belongs to a somewhat obscure phenomenon in early seventeenth-century musical publications, known before 1640 in only four settings, two of which are found in the *alfabeto* songbooks *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome, 1619) by Kapsberger and the *Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca* (Venice, 1620) by Remigio Romano.⁸⁵

One of the most salient features of the *ninna-nonna* tradition is the text, a strophic lullaby with a refrain "ninna la ninna-nonna" ("rock-a-bye baby") or some variant phrase. This is seen in Kapsberger's and Romano's *ninne*, two textually-related settings that

⁸⁴ Joachim Steinheuer, "'Fare la ninnananna': Das Wiegenlied als volkstümlicher Topos in der italienischen Kunstmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts" *Recercare* 9 (1997): 50-52.

⁸⁵ The remaining settings of *ninne* published before 1640 are: Nicolò Rubini, "Fa la ninna" in *Coppia de baci allettatrice al bacio* (Venice, 1613); Francesco Fiamengo, "Amoroso signore. Nenia al Bambin Gesù" in *Pastorali concetti al presepe* (Venice, 1638); and Tarquinio Merula, "Hor ch'è tempo di dormire. Canzonetta spirituale sopra alla nanna" in *Curtio precipato* (Venice, 1638). 1640 saw published two additional *ninna-nanna* settings: Pietro Paolo Sabbatini, "Maria stringendo al petto il Figlio pargoletto. Ninna nanna della B. Vergine al Bambino Gesù salvator del mondo" in *Canzone spirituali...libro secondo* (Rome, 1640); and Giovanni Battista Caputi, "Venite o pastori" in *Canto dei pastori al bambino* (Naples, 1640). These settings are transcribed in Steinheuer. Merula's *ninna-nanna* is transcribed in its complete form in Leopold, *Al Modo d'Orfeo*, vol. 2., 99-104.

appear as the earliest *ninne* for solo voice printed in Italy (Figures 3 and 4, Examples 2 and 3).

Figure 3: Kapsberger, “Figlio dormi, dormi figlio,” *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome, 1619)

GOB O C O R HK B G H G O B

F

Figlio dormi dormi figlio Chiam' figlio Caro figlio Ricciutello della mamma Del mio petto

B B G B Q C O E G A B G O

dolce farina Mio bambino piccino Fai la nanna fa la nanna figlio Ninna la nanna

E H B G X E D O I C H G O M G H

ninna nan na Amoroso mio tesoro Ninna la nanna ninna nan na Dolce e vago

O G B G D E H B G

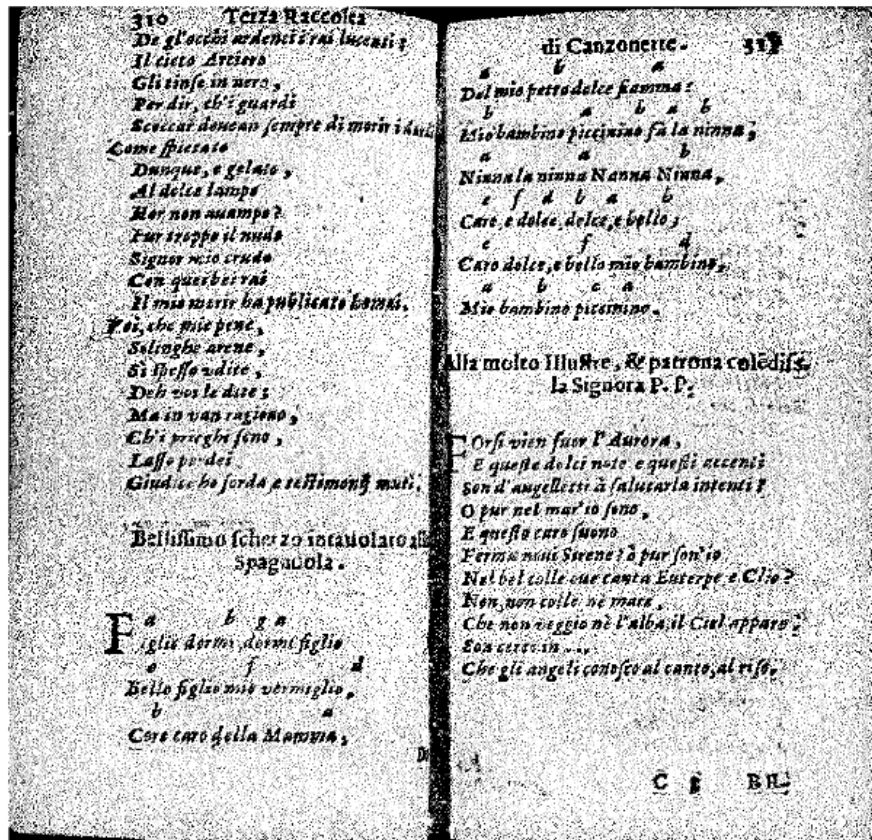
ricciutello Vezzoso e vago e bello

3. Luci vaghe luci belle
Viva stelle
Del mio figlio
Non più crude al sonno ormai
Serenate i vostri rei
Mio bambino piccino
Fai la nanna fa la nanna figlio
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna
Pupilluccio lusinghiere
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna
Pupilluccio riufolette
Ritrova il pupillotto.

4. Sguardi amati dolci guardi
Vivi dardi
Del mio figlio
Voi col pianto mi piagate
E nel sonno mi beate
Mio bambino piccino
Fai la nanna fa la nanna figlio
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna
Tirannucci miei bramati
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna
Deh chiudetevi innocent
Tirannucci miei nocenti.

5. Ecco il forno che l'asale.
Spiega l'ale
Sul mio figlio
Dolce sonno a re si sperta
Tutto stringerà l'alletta
Mio bambino piccino
Fai la nanna fa la nanna figlio
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna
Lusingatelo di miei canti
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna
Mio dolcissimo ristoro
Mio ricchissimo tesoro.

Figure 4: Romano, “Figlio dormi, dormi figlio,” *Terza raccolta di bellissime canzonette* (Venice, 1623)



Example 2: “Figlio dormi” from Kapsberger’s *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome, 1619)

Figlio dormi, dormi figlio	Son sleep, sleep son
China’l ciglio Caro figlio	Close your lashes dear son
Ricciutello della mamma	Mama’s little curly-lashed one
Del mio petto dolce fiamma	Sweet flame of my breast
Mio bambino piccinino.	My little baby boy.
Fà la nanna fà la ninna figlio	Rock-a-bye baby
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna	Rock-a-bye baby
Amoroso mio tesoro	My loving treasure
Ninna la nanna ninna nanna	Rock-a-bye baby
Dolce e vago ricciutello	Sweet and lovely little curly-lashed one
Vezzoso vago e bello.	Lovely and sweet charming boy.

Example 3: “Figlio dormi” from Romano’s *Terza raccolte di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca* (Venice, 1623)

Figlio dormi, dormi figlio Bello figlio mio vermiglio Core care della Mamma Del mio petto dolce fiamma: Mio bambino piccinino fà la ninna, Ninna la ninna Nanna Ninna, caro, e dolce, dolce, e bello; Caro dolce, e bello mio bambino, Mio bambino piccinino	Son sleep, sleep son Beautiful son, my flower Mama’s dear heart Burns sweetly in my breast: Rock-a-bye my little baby boy, Rock-a-bye baby, Dear and sweet, sweet and beautiful; My dear, sweet, and beautiful baby boy, My little baby boy
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As Steinheuer has shown, these early *ninna-nanna alfabeto* song texts share textual similarities with anonymous fifteenth- and sixteenth-century lullaby poems, gathered and transcribed by the historical folklorist Tito Saffioti.⁸⁶ These concordances further attest to the unwritten context from which *ninna-nanne* undoubtedly emerged. The concordances, as well as others in the later *ninna-nanna* repertory, have led Steinheuer to speculate that Rubini's "Fa la ninna" represents the "folk" beginnings of the *ninna-nanna* tradition. Though not inscribed with *alfabeto*, Rubini's setting introduces and reinforces the authentic spirit of pastoralism that was associated with the early *ninna-nanne* repertory. That this lullaby tradition is further present in *alfabeto* song sources suggests that the unwritten and authentic resonance of the *ninna-nanna* deemed it a suitable format for *alfabeto*-inscribed vocal music.

Pesori (1640/48?)

Pastoral realism can also be gleaned in part from the 1640/48? edition of Stefano Pesori’s *Lo scrigno armonico*, an anonymously printed collection of guitar dances in

⁸⁶ Steinheuer, 49-96.

scordatura/alfabeto tablature and texts with *alfabeto*. Pesori's print is a valuable document to help us understand the underlining cultural meaning of pastoral *alfabeto* song texts because it is one of the few that places the repertory in a specified cultural narrative context. Following a long introduction to his musical compositions, Pesori recounts the story of Corralbo and Celinda, a pastoral tale on which Pesori's eight poems with *alfabeto* are based. Pesori's narration provides a descriptive account of the rustic/pastoral ideology encountered in the *alfabeto* song context:

Corralbo vien disprezzato nell'amor suo da Celinda, perche essendo povero Pastore habbi egli ardito spiegarli il suo affetto con alcuni versi, con occasione d'una veglia lo fà arrossire con un biglietto alla presenza d'alcuni Pastori, addolorato sotto il gravame di questa passione scrive à Celinda le seguenti note, e si scuse, che non credeva, ch'ella pigliasse à sdegno il suo affetto, non vi essendo legge in amore.	Corralbo is disdained in his love by Celinda, since, being a poor shepherd, he has been so bold as to unfold his affection with some verse; during a celebration she makes him blush with a note in the presence of the other shepherds. Grieving over the burden of his passion, he writes to Celinda the following notes, apologizing since he did not believe that she would receive his affection with disdain, there not being [any] laws in love.
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Corralbo's "*molte vaghissime villanelle*" that follow indicate neither a bass line nor melody line; the only musical cues given are *alfabeto* chord symbols placed above the text. This striking rendering of the poor shepherd's *spiegando* (outpouring) of his love for Celinda draws on a number of musical and non-musical references that illustrate the authentic pastoral world of Corralbo and his songs. The musical cues are fairly straightforward: Corralbo's knowledge of musical notation is limited to the *alfabeto* system, his instrument of choice is the Spanish guitar, and the melodies of the tunes are presumably improvised or sung from memory. Detached from the soundworld of more legitimate and standard traditions of musical practice (most evidently noted in the lack of music staff and rhythmic notation), Corralbo is imbued with a sense of musical autonomy

and authenticity that is reminiscent of earlier accounts of the simplicity of ancient musical practice. The musical “realism” portrayed by Pesori is echoed in Corralbo’s song texts, which draw from the familiar language of lyric and pastoral poetry and present them in fragmented and illusory ways. In Corralbo’s fifth song “Si guardi, chi può,” (Figure 3) subtitled *L’amante tradito fatto consigliere in Amore*, Pesori references Marino’s “Fuggite incauti Amanti” in the third verse, perhaps alluding to the musical subject of Marino’s text. Yet when compared against Marino, Corralbo’s song seems to function not as a paraphrase of Marino’s text, but rather as a trace of it, as if the poet was recalling Marino from memory:

Figure 5: Pesori, “Si guardi, chi può,” *Lo scrigno armonico* ([n.p.], 1640?8?)

L'AMANTE TRADITO

Fatto consigliere in Amore.



G H B O
 I guardi, chi può:
B
 La maga d'Amore
D
 Hà tolto il mio Cuore, poi dice di no:
B
 Si guardi chi può
D
 Si guardi
H
 Si guardi
B
 Si guardi chi può
H B G
 Si guardi chi può.

L'Empia con dolci accenti
 Va lusingando ogni indurato petto
 Ma poi di tradimenti
 Il miser'Amator li fa ricetto.
 Lo sò per proua, il dico
 Piango l'error antico
 Sospiro la cagion, ch'ha morte vò:
 Si guardi chi può.

FVggite incauti Amanti,
 La pietà cagion d'aspri martiri
 Ah'ch' in vn mar de pianti
 Vi sommerge tal'hor con suoi sospiri
 Fugite i vezzi, i guardi
 Che con fieri e baggiardi
 Fugite pur co' lei, che m'ingannò:
 Si guardi chi può.

Example 4: Texts of Pesori's "Si guardi, chi può" and Marino's "Fuggite incauti Amanti" with *alfabeto* symbols

Corralbo (Pesori)	Marino
<p>G H B O Si guardi, chi può: B E La maga d'Amore D H B G Hà tolto il mio Cuore, poi dice di no: B E Si guardi chi può D Si guardi H Si guardi B G Si guardi chi può H B G Si guardi chi può</p> <p>[more verses:] L'Empia con dolci accenti Va lusingando ogni indurato petto Ma poi di tradimenti Il miser' Amator li fa ricetta. Lo sò per prova, il dico Piango l'error antico Sospiro la cagion, ch'ha morte vò: Si guarda chi può</p> <p>Fuggite incauti Amanti, La spietata cagion d'aspri martiri Ah' ch'in un mar de pianti Vo sommerge tall'hor con suoi sospiri Fugite i vezzi, i sguardi Che con finti, e bugiardi Fugite pur colei, che m'ingannò Si guardi chi può.</p>	<p>Fuggite incauti Amanti La canora omicida Ch'asconde, empia ed infina Sotte note soavi amari piani Quelle corde sonore Sono i lacci d'Amore; Quella che sembra cetra E'd'Amor la faretra: Quell'arco, arco è d'Amor: que'dolci accenti Son saetti pungenti</p>

Pesori's presentation of a "modular" or "troped" text and *alfabeto* adds further to the improvisational element of Corralbo's song. The textual repetition and fragmentation coupled with the strong sense of musical ambiguity evoked in this "song" emphasize the

starkly intimate and “realistic” manner in which Corralbo unveils his feelings for Celinda. Musically and poetically, Pesori distances Corralbo from elite and standard musical traditions (figuratively and non-figuratively), and perhaps employs these very attributes in order to identify him as embodying rural/pastoral authenticity.

Reactions to Pastoral Realism and Guitar Song

Corralbo and other pastoral figures were not always glorified for their intuitive musical gifts and embodiment of “real” ancient musical practice. Characters such as Corralbo were in fact problematic for some musical authors, as the guitar and vocal repertoires associated with the instrument sometimes surfaced as musical symbols of the ignorant, uneducated, and morally questionable in reports from the *seicento* musical elite. In Severo Bonini’s *Discorsi e regole* of ca. 1650, the author addresses both the music of and the listening of music by such individuals and informs his readership about the shortcomings of their music making:

Se saranno poi persone idiote e di bassamano, ò d' ingegno grosso, come bottegai vili, e Contadini, non haverano tanto diletto come i suddetti: l' haveran ben maggiore à sentir cantar ciechi con la Lira, chitarra, ò Zufoli, particolarmente le Donnicciuole, ò altre poverelle, e semplici creature. ⁸⁷	If they [listeners] are ignorant and inferior or of obtuse mind, such as lowly shopkeepers and peasants, they will not take as much delight [in listening to music] as the others just mentioned: they would do better just listening to the blind sing to the Lira, guitar, or Pipes, particularly harlots and other poor and simple creatures.
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Bonini’s critique of *contadini* (farmers, shepherds, peasants), *bottegai vile* (lowly shopkeepers) and *donniciuole* (vulgar women of low moral standing) focuses mainly on their inability to take delight in music as do musicians of elite traditions. Despite his glaring cultural prejudice, Bonini provides anecdotal evidence for the kinds of rustic and

⁸⁷ Bonini, trans. Bonino, 125.

peasant culture musical associations that existed during his time. While Bonini does not specify the repertoires of these inferior musicians, he introduces us to the ambivalent attitudes toward guitar song that were in circulation around mid-century.

Bonini's mention of the guitar as an instrument suitable for the enjoyment of peasant culture is echoed in other references to the instrument catering to simple people of rural sensibilities. Earlier in the century in Spain, the native land of the guitar, one reads in a dictionary of the Spanish language that:

Until our times this instrument [the 6-course *vihuela*] has been highly esteemed and has had most excellent musicians, but since the invention of the guitar there have been very few who have devoted themselves to the study of the *vihuela*. It has been a great loss, because all kinds of notated music was played on it, and now the guitar is nothing more than a cow-bell, so easy to play, especially in *rasgado* [strummed manner] that there is not a stable-boy who is not a musician of the guitar.⁸⁸

These citations reveal that the figures of Valvasensi's peasant women and Corralbo in Pesori's *Lo scrigno armonico* emerged as sources of contradiction within the context of seventeenth century music. As voiced in various musical writings of the time, this confusion emanates from the symbol of the peasant-musician as a living remnant of ancient culture yet simultaneously cast as musically illiterate. Central to these characters' ambiguity, however, is a recognition and assertion of their "real" embodiment of pastoral culture. Whether evoking the traditions of the ancient past or musing within the limitations of their natural abilities, there is a sense of "authenticity" and "naturalness" about them and their music that reflects a wider ideological revision of the pastoral world.

⁸⁸ Sebastián Covarrubias Orosco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611), cited and translated in Diana Poulton, "Notes on the Guitar, Laud and Vihuela," *Lute Society of America Journal* 18 (1976): 46-48.

Other traces of pastoral authenticity are especially apparent in *alfabeto* song publications with connections to the Italian south. As will be shown in Chapter 4, Naples and Sicily were fundamentally bound to the cultural identity of both the Spanish guitar and (somewhat by extension) *alfabeto* songs. Although the symbolism of the Italian south was diverse and complex in the early modern era, pastoralism and rusticity were frequently evoked in formulating a mythology of the region, especially in travel literature that circulated among foreign visitors and inhabitants in the northern and central Italian regions.⁸⁹ It is interesting to note that *alfabeto* song appears to be the only printed musical repertory of the early *seicento* that cultivated the tradition of *arie siciliane*, or strophic *strambotti* in Sicilian dialect (see Table 3.). *Alfabeto* song was considered a desirable format for reproducing and preserving the tradition of *arie siciliane*, echoing Valvasensi's wish to present his dialect song with *alfabeto*. The examples of Valvasensi's "Gioldin, gioldin" and the *aria siciliana* repertory suggest that *alfabeto* notation and the Spanish guitar were used to emphasize a particular mode of "authentic" musical practice. In incorporating *alfabeto*, these examples hint at a musical practice with strong connections to peasant culture and Italian south.

Table 3: *Alfabeto* songbooks containing *arie siciliane*

Composer/editor	Title	Publication ⁹⁰
Giovanni Stefani, ed.	<i>Affetti amorosi</i>	Venice: A. Vincenti, 1618
Giovanni Stefani, ed.	<i>Scherzi amorosi</i>	Venice: A. Vincenti, 1620
Remigio Romano	<i>Terza raccolta</i>	Vicenza: Salvadori, 1620
Carlo Milanuzzi	<i>Secondo scherzo</i>	Venice: A. Vincenti, 1622
Diacinta Fedele	<i>Scielta di villanelle</i>	Vicenza: Grossi, 1628
Gio. Battista Abatessa	<i>Intessitura di varii fiori</i>	Rome: i Pieri e Paci, 1652

⁸⁹ See Ch.4.

⁹⁰ First editions only.

The Italian south is likewise an important symbol of authenticity in the publication *Il Carro di Madama Lucia*, a collection of *alfabeto* songs, duets, and choruses composed by Giovanni Battista Fasolo and published by Robletti in Rome in 1628. As is clear from the title page, Fasolo’s collection was published primarily with the musical practices of the Neapolitan rural and *carnevale* orbit close at hand:

<p>IL CARRO / di / Madama Lucia / et una serenata in lingua / Lombarda / Che fa la gola a carnevale / doppo un Ballo di trè Zoppi con una Sguaz- / zata di Colasone Una Morescha de Schia- / vi à 3 Et altre Arie e Correnti Francese / con le littere per la Chiattare Spagnola / Poste in musica / Dal Fasolo / Ne Capricciosi Accademico Retirato / Rappresentato / E dato in luce / Da Gio Battista Robletti Romano // In Roma per il Robletti 1628 / Con Licenza de’ Superiori</p>	<p>THE CHARIOT of Madama Lucia and a serenade in the Lombard language that is tasty for carnival; followed by a <i>ballo</i> for three <i>Zoppi</i> with a <i>Squazzato di Colascione</i>, a <i>Morescha</i> of the slaves for three voices, and other <i>arie</i> and French <i>correnti</i>, with letters for the Spanish guitar, set to music by Fasolo of the Capricciosi Accademico Retirato; presented and given light by Giovanni Battista Robletti Romano; In Rome by Robletti 1628, with license of the Superiors.</p>
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Prominent in the advertisement of this collection is the Neapolitan *carnevale* figure Lucia, the *colascione*, a Neapolitan rural folk instrument, the Naples-based *moresca*, and of course the Spanish guitar, an instrument whose Italian origins are located in the Spanish Kingdom of Naples.⁹¹ The Spanish guitar, an instrument closely bound to the culture of southern Italy, plays a fundamental role in establishing the cultural and pastoral authenticity of certain items in *Il carro*, noted by the fact that not all the settings are inscribed with *alfabeto*, as is shown in the following annotated song list of the collection:

⁹¹ Elena Ferrari-Barassi, “I ‘varii stromenti’ della *Luciata*,” in *La musica da napolì durante il Seciento*, ed. Domenico Antonio d’Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Edizioni Torre d’Orfeo, 1987), 325-44. This topic will be discussed further in Ch. 4.

Table 4: Contents of Fasolo's *Il carro di Madama Lucia* (Rome, 1628), including order of the arrangement within the collection, page number, number of voices, and the presence of *alfabeto*.

Title	No.	Pp.	Vc.	Alf.
Sfortunata chi mi consola (<i>Lamento di Madama Lucia</i>)	1	2	1	yes
L'altra nott'al far del goirn' (<i>Serenata in lingua Lombarda</i>)	2a	4	1	yes
Baccho ò Baccho portator d'allegrezza	2b	4	3	yes
Al' mie pias' i cullumbott'	2c	5	1	yes
Viva e viva	2d	6	3	yes
Una volta fui al Mare	2e	7	1	yes
Mentre per bizzaria	2f	8	3	no
Alle danze ò voi Pastori (<i>Ballo di 3 Zoppi</i>)	3	9	3	yes
Sotto un ombroso Faggio (<i>Squazzato di Colasone</i>)	4	10	3	yes
Hor sì che e giorno quel hora (<i>Corrente Francese</i>)	5	11	1	no
Hor cantar più non vogliamo	6	12	3	no

As the poems suggest, the guitar was more suitable for certain texts, namely those with specific Neapolitan connotations such as the opening *Lamento di Madama Lucia* and the *Squazzato di Colasone*, or in the pastoral numbers such as “Alle danze ò voi Pastori” and “Baccho ò baccho portator d'allegrezza.”

The *Squazzato di Colasone* (Figure 4) provides a colorful example of pastoral and Neapolitan authenticity, noted in the pastoral references to musical practice and onomatopoeic gestures that imitate the *rasgueado* (strummed) manner of playing the *colascione*⁹²:

⁹² The *colascione* is a Neapolitan long-necked lute believed to be of popular origins. Tinctoris noted that the instrument was derived from the Middle Eastern *tambura*, introduced to Naples through the Turkish siege of Otranto in the Province of Lecce. See Alexander Silbiger, “Imitations of the *Colascione* in 17th-Century Keyboard Music,” *The Galpin Society Journal* 30 (1980): 92-7.

Figure 6: Fasolo, *Il carro di Madama Lucia*, “Sotto un ombroso faggio – *Squazzato di Colasone*”

[illegible]

Sotto un ombroso Faggio Il primo di Maggio Il Pastorel d'Amone, Sonava il Colasone E risonava l'aria in simil guisa: Rin tren tirin tren tirin tren tren Tirin tren tirin tren tiren tren tren Davan' nelle risa	Under a shady Beech On the first of May The Shepherd Amone Played the <i>Colascione</i> And the <i>aria</i> [tune] sounded thus: Rin tren tirin tren tirin tren tren Tirin tren tirin tren tiren tren tren Go forth with smiles
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The “Rin tren tirin tren”—set in homorhythm—of the sixth line, while mocking the sound of the *colascione*, describes in the second verse the sound of the “*antica Zampogna*”:

Era già sparso intorno, Il son gentile e adorno, Già che facea vergogna, Al antica Zampogna; Ma mentre che il Pastor stava sonando Trin trin tre, Molte Lumache givano danzando	It was already scattered around, The pleasant and fine sound, So that it put to shame The ancient <i>Zampogna</i> ; Yet while the shepherd was playing Trin trin tre, Many snails were dancing
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In the third and final verse, the text explicitly references the cultural associations of these rustic instruments:

Lasciavano i Bifolchi, Gli Armenti, i Prati, e i Solchi, Che'el suono inusitato, Havea tutti destato, Tal che s'udia per ogni sentiero Trin tren tirin, etc. Oda stò sono, chi non vuol pensiero.	The herdsmen left The herds, the fields, the furrows, For the unusual sound Had stirred excitement in everyone So that on every path one could hear “trin tren tirin, etc.” Let those who want no care hear this sound.
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This alliterative device was earlier used to great effect in invoking rural music in Adriano Banchieri's *Il metamorfosi musicale* of 1601, in which the three-voice setting of “*La villotta alla contadinesca nel chitarrino*” imitates the strumming of the guitar on the words “*Tin tin tin tin tiri trine.*”⁹³ Fasolo's setting reiterates the strong connection between the guitar, Naples, and pastoral authenticity in the seventeenth century, and moreover, underscores the imaginative and symbolic use of the instrument in the *alfabeto* song tradition.

⁹³ For more on this instrumental effect in the music of Banchieri and others, see Ivano Cavallini, “L'intavolatura per chitarrino alla napolitana dal *Conserto vago*, 1645,” *Quadrivium* 19 (1978): 244.

Chapter 3: *Alfabeto* Song Printing and Publishing

Alfabeto songs were cultivated in both print and manuscript traditions. While musicologists have begun to evaluate *alfabeto* song manuscripts in some detail, the print tradition has yet to be properly explored.⁹⁴ The precarious position of Italian music printing in the early to mid seventeenth century may help to explain the scholarly neglect of the repertory. In the span of eight years, the city of Venice witnessed significant interruptions of four of its most illustrious printing firms. The deaths of Angelo Gardano in 1611, Melchiorre Scotto in 1613, Giacomo Vincenti in 1619, and closure of Ricciardo Amadino's press in 1617 in many ways signaled the end of what might be characterized as the "Golden Age" of Italian music printing. The numbers illustrate the state of decline in an equally dramatic fashion: the total number of music editions published in Italy dropped from 450 in 1615 to less than 350 in 1625.⁹⁵ Following the North-Central Italian plague of the early 1630s, this number would plummet to only 100 publications issued in

⁹⁴ More recent *alfabeto* song manuscript studies include: John H. Baron, "Spanish Solo Song in Non-Spanish sources, 1599-1640," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977): 20-42; Hill, *Roman Monody*; and Giovanna Lazzi, ed., *Rime e suoni per corde spagnole*.

⁹⁵ Angelo Pompilio, "Editoria musicale a Napoli e in Italia nel Cinque-Seicento" in *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. Lorenzo Bianconi and Renato Bossa (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983), 96-97. Pompilio derived these numbers from the following catalogs: Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600: A Bibliography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Gaetano Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna*, 4 vols., (Bologna: Romagnoli Dall'Acqua, 1890-1902; reprinted Bologna: A. Forni, 1961); Joaquim de Vasconcellos, ed., *Primeira parte do index da livreria de musica do muyto alto, e poderoso Rey Dom João o IV* (1649) (Portogallo: Imprensa portugueza, 1874-1876); Mario de Sampaio Ribeiro, *Livraria de música del El-Rey D. João IV: Estudo musical, histórico e bibliográfico* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967); Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editore e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983); Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, (Pomezia and Geneva: Staderini-Minkoff, 1977), Giovanni O. Pitoni, *Notita de Contrapuntisti e de Compositori di musica* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia ms. 11); François Lesure, ed., *Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles I: Liste chronologique* (Munich-Duisberg: G. Henle, 1960); Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica stumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700*, 2 vols. (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1952 and 1968); E.H. Mueller von Asow, *Heinrch Schütz: Gesammelte Briefe und Schriften* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1931); Raffaele Casimiri, "Enrico Sagittario (Heinrich Schütz) alla scuola di Giovanni Gabrieli" *Note d'archivio* 10 (1938): 90; Franz Waldner, "Zwei Inventarien aus dem XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert über hinterlassene Musikinstrumente und Musikalen am Innsbrucker Hofe" *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 4 (1916): 128-147.

1635. These conditions, coupled with an economic crisis during the 1620s, portray a bleak future for Italian music publishing after 1620.⁹⁶

Research on Italian music publishing during the first half of the *seicento* by Angelo Pompilio and Tim Carter further illustrates the unstable nature of music printing.⁹⁷ As Pompilio first demonstrated and Carter later reemphasized, after 1600 and up until the middle of the century, sacred music publishing nearly eclipsed the production of secular music editions. This was not an isolated incident but a pan-Italian phenomenon that Carter has attributed in part to the stabilizing demand for church music following the ecclesiastical reforms of the Catholic Church.⁹⁸ As a primarily secular music genre, printed *alfabeto* song flourished in environments that appear, at least to modern times, to have threatened the success of repertoires of its kind.

Details of the publication history of the *alfabeto* song, however, portray the repertory in a somewhat different light. The graph below (Figure 7) documents the production of *alfabeto* song publications as well as the overall Italian publication of secular vocal music from 1610 to the 1660s. As the shape of the graph indicates, the plague of the early 1630s proved to be a defining moment in the production history of Italian printed secular vocal music during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁹⁹ Apart

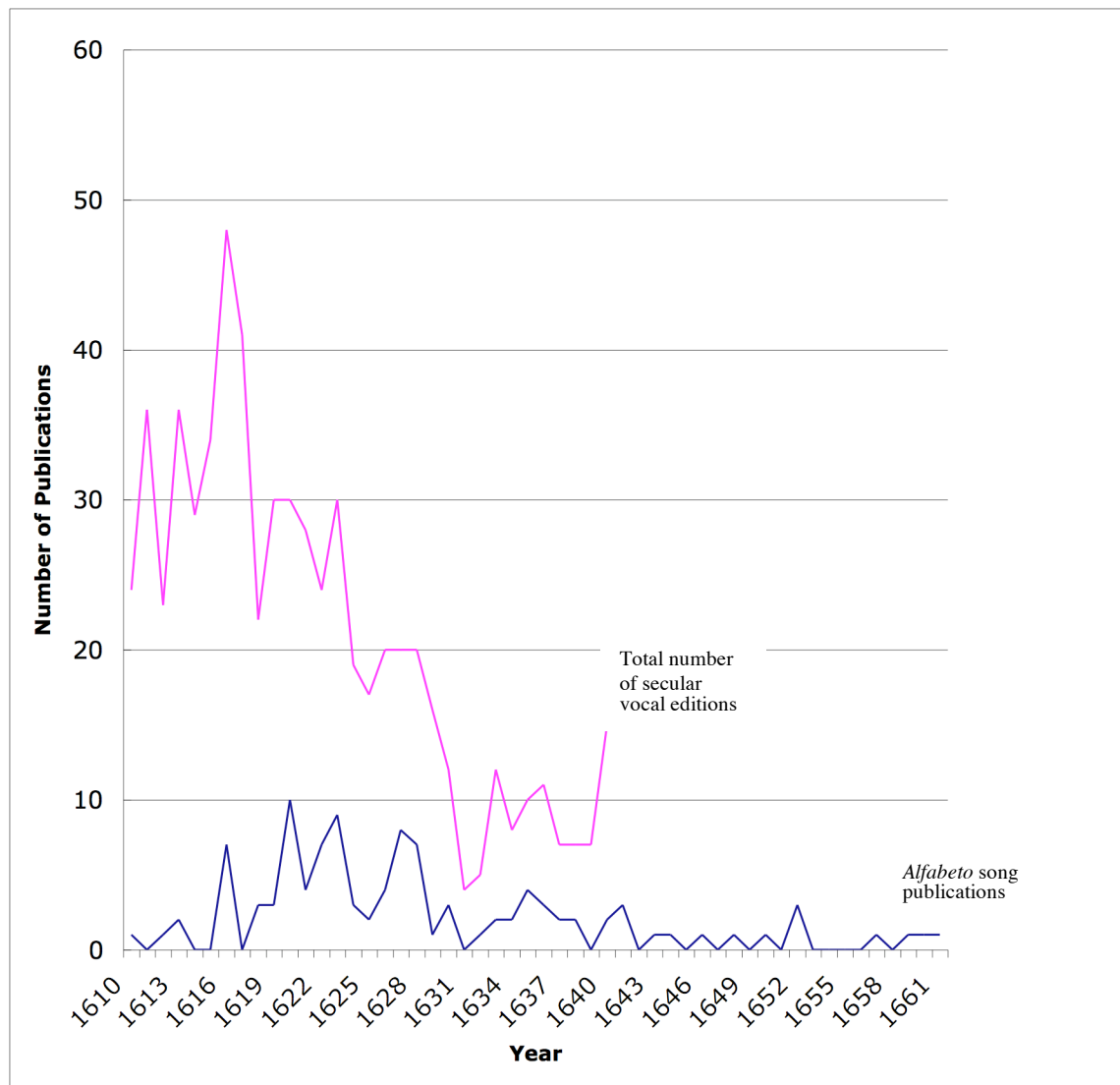
⁹⁶ For more on the effects of the Italian economic crisis of 1619-22 on music publishing, see Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 77-8.

⁹⁷ Pompilio, *ibid.*, and Tim Carter, "Music Publishing in Italy, c. 1580-c. 1625: Some Preliminary Observations," *Monteverdi and his Contemporaries* (Aldershot & Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), 19-37. Carter's data, in contrast with Pompilio, was compiled from Sartori, *RISM Series A/I, RISM B/1*, Brown, *NV*, Nigel Fortune, "A Handlist of Printed Italian Secular Monody Books, 1602-1635," *The Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 3 (1963): 27-50, and John Whenham, *Duet and Dialogue in the Age of Monteverdi*, vol. 2 (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981), 25-164.

⁹⁸ Carter, "Music Publishing in Italy," 23.

⁹⁹ Data for Italian secular vocal music prints from the years 1610-1640 was taken from Carter, "Music Publishing in Italy," 23-37. The only *alfabeto* song print whose collective texts are entirely sacred is the anonymous *Canzonette spirituali et morali* (Milan: Rolla, 1659). *Alfabeto* song collections that contain mixed sacred and secular texts such as Kapsberger's *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1618)

Figure 7. Total Italian secular vocal editions and *alfabeto* song editions published in Italy



from the similar general trajectory of *alfabeto* song and overall Italian secular vocal music printing dictated by the events of the early 1630s, there remain a few instances where the two strands demonstrate opposing trends. The first is the sharp decline in Italian secular vocal music printing after 1618, during which time *alfabeto* song production reached its peak with ten publications issued in 1620. While Italian secular

and Manzolo's *Canzonette* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1623) were considered sacred or secular, following Carter, according to the majority of their song texts.

vocal music publishing on the whole continued to weaken significantly during the 1620s, the data portray the decade as not only somewhat stable but also as the most productive for *alfabeto* song publishing. This trend counters previous generalizations about the effects of the Italian economic crisis of the 1620s and its noticeable effects on secular music publishing during the decade.¹⁰⁰ Despite the plague, yearly totals of *alfabeto* song prints during the 1630s at times comprised nearly half of the total output of Italian secular vocal music prints.¹⁰¹ What remains significant is that while Italian secular vocal music printing as a whole experienced steady and at times drastic decline after 1618, *alfabeto* song continued to be published on a fairly consistent and intermittently elevated basis throughout the 1620s and 30s. Its resilience during such unstable times demonstrates a notable demand for the repertory.

It has been argued that printers indiscriminately added *alfabeto* to song collections to increase the market value of their publications.¹⁰² While this claim has yet to be verified in the primary literature, it demonstrates how scholars in the past have come to terms with the repertory's noticeable presence in music publication during the first half of the seventeenth century. This project argues that *alfabeto* songs existed as autonomous compositions and that this special system of tablature was deemed appropriate for certain types of songs with certain types of texts. As the repertory became standardized, it is evident that notating *alfabeto* alongside text or melodies was an essential part of a tradition unto itself. This chapter seeks to strengthen this premise

¹⁰⁰ See Pompilio, 81, and Carter, "Music Publishing in Italy," 26.

¹⁰¹ In 1634 and 1635, *alfabeto* songbooks comprised 40 percent of the total yearly output of Italian secular vocal music prints (2 out of the 8 total publications in 1634 and 4 out of the 10 in 1635).

¹⁰² As Nigel Fortune argues, "the Spanish guitar was becoming more and more popular in Italy, and this led to a new practice favoured by music-publishers, especially the commercially-minded [Alessandro] Vincenti: the practice of providing every song with letters for the guitar, even when, as in more serious songs, they were wildly inappropriate." Fortune, "Italian Secular Song," 136-137.

through an analysis of the publication history of the repertory. The following pages will discuss how the trends and patterns of publication reveal relationships among various printing centers as well as among the individual publications themselves. It will be further shown how these relationships define the repertory's origins in Naples and Rome and later standardization in the central and northern regions of Italy, especially Venice.

The table below breaks down the corpus of printed vocal music with *alfabeto* according to the location of both the publishing center and the area in which the composers of the collections were employed (Table 5). Unsurprisingly, the data confirm Venice as the leading music publisher in Italy during the early seventeenth century; not only did Venice publish the most *alfabeto* song books, but the city's music publishers also represented publications whose composers worked in the most varied locations (only the mezzogiorno and Sicily are absent). The printing history of the *alfabeto* song as well as the list of its practitioners provide further evidence that this tradition of accompanied singing to the guitar was grounded in Rome and points southward. It is interesting to note that while Venice led in the publication of the repertory, Roman composers were represented most frequently in the books, with nearly forty percent of their collective output published before 1620. Naples, whose publications make up about six percent of the entire repertory, printed all of its *alfabeto* songbooks before 1620. Venice, on the other hand, though dominating *alfabeto* song publishing throughout the 1600s, produced nearly ninety percent of its publications only after 1620. These results concerning the instrumental role that Roman musicians played in the origin and maintenance of the *alfabeto* song repertory encourage a reconsideration of past claims for the Venetian

provenance of the tradition.¹⁰³

Table 5: Publishing & provenance of *alfabeto* song prints and composers, 1610-1665¹⁰⁴

		<i>Region of composer employment or the provenance of concordant sources in anonymous prints</i> ¹⁰⁵								
Publishing Center	# of prints	Campania / Puglia	Emilia-Romagna	Lazio / Marches	Lombardy / Piedmont	Tuscany / Umbria	Sicily	Veneto / Friuli	Anonymous publication	Outside Italy
Bracciano	1			1						
Florence	1					1				
Messina ¹⁰⁶	1						1			
Milan	5				6					
Naples	7	7								
Orvieto	1	1								
Parma	1							1		
Pavia	1							1		
Rome	35			34		1				
Rome & Lucca	1	1								
Venice	50		4	4	3	2		31	5	1
Verona	1							1		
Verona Padua & Parma	1					1				
Vicenza	4			1				3		
[n.p.]	1							1		
TOTALS	112	9	4	40	9	5	1	38	5	1

¹⁰³ The centrality of Venice in the diffusion of printed songs with *alfabeto* is discussed in Leopold, "Remigio Romano's Collection of Lyrics for Music," 45-61, and Miller, "The Composers of San Marco."

¹⁰⁴ First editions only; reprints are considered below.

These examples highlight the usefulness of considering the activities of various printing centers in evaluating the publishing history of the *alfabeto* song repertory. As will be shown, each center developed its own kind of *alfabeto* song publication and publication history, while at the same time contributed to formulating a standardized repertory.

Rome

Rome's printers issued 33 first editions of *alfabeto* song prints, producing the most prints in Italy outside of Venice. Like other printing centers such as Naples and Milan, Roman printers concentrated their efforts on representing native composers. This is not only evident in the number of single-composer editions by Roman composers, but also in the number of anthologies that feature Roman composers. Table 6 illustrates the abundance of Roman composers found in *alfabeto* song anthologies published in the city.

¹⁰⁵ For anonymous prints, their provenance was figured by the majority presence of music and/or text in concordant prints or manuscripts. For example, the Florentine provenance of Stefani's anonymous anthology *Concerti amorosi* (Venice: Vincenti, 1623) was determined according to Hill, who identified a majority number of musical concordances in Florentine manuscript sources. See Hill, 165.

¹⁰⁶ Tyler's catalog in *The Guitar*, 50, reports that Cesare Del Giudice's *Madrigali concertati* (now lost) was printed in Palermo. An early eighteenth-century reference notes the publication of the edition in Messina by Pietro Brea. See Antonio Mongitore, *Biblioteca sicula, sive de scriptoribus siculus, qui tum vetera, tum recentiora saecula illustrarunt, notitiae locupletissimae*, vol. 2 (Palermo: 1708-14, reprinted Bologna: Forni, 1971), 108. This is also cited in Giuseppe Donato, "Su alcuni aspetti della vita musicale in Sicilia nel Seicento," in *La musica a Napoli durante il Seicento*, ed. Domenico Antonio d'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), 599.

Table 6: Roman *alfabeto* song anthologies and city of composer's employment/activity

<i>Title</i>	<i>Composers</i>	<i>City of Activity</i>
<i>Giardino musicale di varii eccellenti autori</i> (Robletti, 1621)	Abundio Antonelli, Giovanni Boschetto Boschetti, Ottavio Catalani, Alessandro Constantini, Girolamo Frescobaldi, Stefano Landi, Raffaello Rontini [Francesco Cerasolo]	Rome [Uncertain]
<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i> (Robletti, 1621)	Abundio Antonelli, Ottavio Catalani, Giuseppe Cenci, Stefano Landi, Don Hipolito Macchiavelli, Pellegrino Mutij, Domenico Mazzocchi, Giovanni Bernardino Nanini, Raffaello Rontini	Rome
<i>Vezzosetti fiori di varii eccellenti autori</i> (Robletti, 1622)	Nicolò Borboni, Alessandro Constantini, , Ferdinando Grappuccioli, Pellegrino Mutij, Giovanni Giacomo Porro, Pietro Paolo Sabbatini, Francesco Severi, Gregorio Veneri [Antonio Granata, Francesco Pesce, Giovanni Antonio Todini, Henrico Torscianello]	Rome [Uncertain]
<i>Poesie diverse poste in musica</i> (Soldi, 1623)	Paolo Agostini, Giuseppe Giamberti, Giovanni Bernardino Nanino	Rome

The Roman publication history also makes apparent that the practice of notating *alfabeto* tablature alongside poetic texts and vocal lines was cultivated in Roman musical circles before emerging on the Venetian scene during the 1620s. This coincides with the arguments of James Tyler and others who place Rome at the forefront of *alfabeto* practice based on the appearance of the tradition in Roman sixteenth-century manuscript

sources.¹⁰⁷ Not only was the earliest *alfabeto* song publication issued in Rome, but also the chronology of *alfabeto* song music publishing indicates that the city produced more publications than any other center in printing activities before 1620.¹⁰⁸ The first Venetian single-composer *alfabeto* song print, Bernardino Borlasca's *Canzonette...libro secondo* (G. Vincenti, 1611), itself has a distinct Roman flair, as indicated on the title page:

Canzonette a tre voci di Bernardino Borlasca....appropriate per cantar nel Chitarrone, Lira doppia, Cembalo, Arpone, Chitariglia alla spagnuola, o altro simile strumento da concerto com'hoggi di si costuma nella Corte di Roma.	<i>Canzonette</i> for three voice by Bernardino Borlasca...arranged for singing to the <i>Chitarrone, Lira doppia, Cembalo, Arpone, Chitariglia alla spagnola</i> , or other similar instrument of <i>concerto</i> as is today the custom in the courts of Rome. ¹⁰⁹
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Similarly, Flaminio Corradi's *Le stravaganze d'amore* (G. Vincenti, 1616), another early Venetian *alfabeto* song print, makes its Roman connections known in the opening duet (and title of the collection) "Stravaganza d'amore," a parody of Luca Marenzio's *canzonetta* from the final *intermedio* of the 1585 play with the same title by Christoforo Castelletti.¹¹⁰

Remigio Romano's *Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca* offers an interesting context for Rome's cultivation of the *alfabeto* song. In both existing versions of this book, only the songs labeled "*romanesca*" are appended with *alfabeto*. Moreover, in the edition published by Angelo Salvadori in 1620, the "*romanesca*" *alfabeto* songs are

¹⁰⁷ See Tyler, 37-40; and Hill, 68-90.

¹⁰⁸ The earliest extant *alfabeto* song print is Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger's *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1610).

¹⁰⁹ Borlasca, in the dedication of this print to Cardinale Bonifacio Caetano, also describes his *canzonette* as "*puramente alla Romana*." This has led Ruth I. DeFord to interpret Borlasca's characterization of his *canzonettas* as stylistically aligned with Marenzio's *Terzo libro delle villanelle* (Rome: Alessandro Gardano, 1585). See DeFord, "Marenzio and the *villanella alla romana*," *Early Music* 27 (1999): 550-51. The title page of Borlasca's second book, however, indicates that the "Roman" manner of his edition is defined by the particular instrumentation of an accompanying ensemble, in which the Spanish *chitariglia* (a small four-course guitar) figures prominently.

¹¹⁰ Although Corradi was employed as a singer at San Marco in Venice in 1615, his whereabouts before this time are unknown. Notarial records indicate that he was from Fermo, a town located in the eastern territory of the Papal states. The document in question refers to him as "Ill[ustr]e Cap[ita]n[o] flaminio Corradi da Fermo." See Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 58.

grouped together and appear at the front of the collection, followed by *alfabeto*-less settings of *canzonette*, *scherzi*, and other genres. Interestingly, not a single *romanesca* setting in these editions includes a text in *ottava rima*, the standard poetic form of *romanesca* settings throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These peculiarities coupled with *alfabeto* sonorities in the settings whose sequences are foreign to the established bass and harmonic patterns of the *romanesca* musical model leave one to ponder the implication of the phrase "*alla Romanesca*." Might Romano have chosen to describe the *alfabeto* settings "*alla romanesca*" not as indicative of a musical or poetic form, but more literally as settings in the Roman style?

In several instances, Roman printers acknowledged *alfabeto* song as an exclusively Roman tradition. In 1624, for example, Giovanni Battista Robletti published Juan Aranes's *Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos*, which was advertised on the title page as being composed "con la Zifra de la Guitarra Espannola a la usanza Romana" (with the chord(s) of the Spanish guitar according to Roman usage). This sentiment was expressed in *alfabeto* song prints throughout Italy beyond Venice and Rome, as in the *Scielta de canzonette* of Giovanni Ambrosia Colonna (Milan: Per l'her. di Giovanni Battista Colonna, 1627), who advertised its contents as "Scielta de canzonette à voce sola de più illustri musici di Roma" ("Choice collection of *canzonette* for one voice composed by the most illustrious musicians of Rome.") Likewise, the title page of Cesare Del Giudice's *Madrigali concertati* (Messina: Brea, 1628) publicized "canzonette alla napolitana e alla romana per la chitarra spagnola." *Alfabeto* song publications from all over Italy demonstrate the widespread associations of the Spanish guitar and *alfabeto* with the city of Rome.

The publishing evidence of a Roman codification of the repertory mirrors the visibility of the Spanish guitar within circles of the Roman elite. As Frederick Hammond has noted, the Spanish guitar was a common sight and sound among the Barberini, noted early on in Cardinal Antonio Barberini's cultivation of the instrument in 1627. Hammond also cites a 1634 invoice from Cardinal Francesco Barberini's instrument maker that records the purchases of a theorbo, archlute, Spanish guitar, and *lyra barberina*. Sometime in the 1630s or 40s, Don Taddeo Barberini mentions having learned the Spanish guitar and having his sons instructed in playing the instrument.¹¹¹ Cardinal Montalto also sponsored guitar playing at his court, noted in the hiring of the Neapolitan *virtuosa* Ippolita Recupito to teach a young pupil the Spanish guitar at the court in 1615.¹¹² The notable Roman musician Pietro della Valle, as mentioned earlier, maintains in his *Della musica dell'età nostra* (1640) that he learned how to play the Spanish guitar in Naples while studying with Giuseppe Novazio.¹¹³

Roman printers of *alfabeto* songs also developed approaches to publishing the repertory that set them apart from other Italian publishers, especially Venetian printers who standardized the *alfabeto* song repertory in the 1620s and 30s. There are two aspects of Roman *alfabeto* song publishing that contrast with the publishing practices of the Venetian houses. The first is the presence of a promoter, or an individual who requests the publication of a print *ad istanza* (= at request). While Venetian prints typically acknowledge the patron of a collection as responsible for initiating the production of the print, Roman editions often acknowledge both patrons and promoters as financing and creating demand for the products. Antonio Poggioli, who at one time or another

¹¹¹ Hammond, 95-6.

¹¹² Hill, 133.

¹¹³ Solerti, 169.

collaborated with each individual Roman printer of *alfabeto* song, appears on the Roman scene with great regularity, and the inclusion of his name in many prints emphasizes the importance of his position. While the details of his professional relationship with printers are not always clear, Sartori has remarked about his ownership of a bookshop in the Parione district of Rome.¹¹⁴ Between 1618 and 1623, Poggioli collaborated with Robletti in the publication of one of Rome's most substantial collections of *alfabeto* song, Raffaello Rontani's four books of *Musiche*. Other Roman figures participated in similar ways. Like Poggioli, Paolo Masotti, himself a printer of music, promoted the publication of *alfabeto* songbooks as indicated on the title page of Gregorio Veneri's *Li varii scherzi* (Soldi, 1621).¹¹⁵ Although Poggioli's and Masotti's involvement in the publication of *alfabeto* song proves elusive in some cases, their roles as promoters were important as they emphasize the complex network of individuals that oftentimes collaborated to publish music.

A second aspect of Roman *alfabeto* song publications that differs from the practices of their Venetian counterparts is the printing of *alfabeto* charts; a visual reproduction of the guitar fretboard with corresponding finger intabulation for each letter/sonority. Not only are there substantially fewer Roman editions that include *alfabeto* charts, but the few that do share a specific template that contrasts with the Venetian kind. Roman publications also eschew the standardized printed format of Venice's *alfabeto* charts. In fact, not a single Roman publication includes a chart printed

¹¹⁴ Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali*, 123. Third-party promotion of *alfabeto* songs did not originate in Rome. In 1612, Montesardo's *I lieti giorni di Napoli* was published in Naples "ad istanza di Pietro Paolo Riccio," a Neapolitan book dealer who also promoted Salzilli's *La sirena libro secondo* (1616). Salzilli's title page at the bottom reads: "In Napoli, Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci, si vendono alla libreria di Pietro Paolo Riccio."

¹¹⁵ The title page reads: "Le varii scherzi di Gregorio Veneri romano...Libro primo. Opera quinta. In Roma per Luca Antonio Soldi. 1621 con licenza de' Superiori. Ad' istanza di Paulo Masotti."

from typeface; all of the charts within the prints are engraved, usually in the back or on a page with extra space.¹¹⁶ In short, *alfabeto* charts and other pedagogical resources are not a priority in the Roman prints as they are in others. Here it is notable to recall Robletti's characterization of *alfabeto* and Spanish guitar accompaniment as a specifically Roman practice; the necessity of *alfabeto* charts for an audience whose interaction with the *alfabeto* system was comparatively widespread would be minimal, just as it is unnecessary to provide today's musicians with fingering or tablature charts that outline our system of letter-name chords.

The first Roman edition to include an *alfabeto* chart is Kapsberger's *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome, 1619) (Figure 8). This chart, in addition to the one found in his third book of *villanelle*, might have been added to the collections because of the composer's own experience with plucked stringed instruments.¹¹⁷ The fact that no other Roman publications feature *alfabeto* charts and that Robletti did not typeset the charts lends claim to Kapsberger's authorship, although closer scrutiny of Kapsberger's charts reveals that the author may have had other models at his disposal.

¹¹⁶ For an illustrative example, see Kapsberger's *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome, 1619) [Figure 8]. In this print the *alfabeto* chart is engraved beneath the "tavola" on the final page of the edition. This stands in stark contrast with Venetian publications, which usually dedicate an entire prefatory page to an *alfabeto* chart printed from typeface.

¹¹⁷ Celebrated as a virtuoso theorbist, lutenist, and guitarist in Roman circles (and hailed as a renowned composer by Giustiniani, Doni, and others throughout Italy), Kapsberger contributed greatly to the body of *alfabeto* song, producing seven books of *villanelle* with *alfabeto* that were all published between 1610 and 1640. For Kapsberger's reputation as a composer and performer in Italy, see James Forbes, "The Non-Liturgical Vocal Music of Johannes Hieronymus Kapsberger (1580-1651)," Ph.D. dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1977.


Figure 8: Kapsberger, *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1619)




T A V O L A.

<p>A Villa mia. La vira alberga. L'onda che limpida. Ite sospiri miei. Non hanea Febo. Del filli viencene. Figlia dormi. D'una guancia O fronte serena. Aure vaghe, Che far tu.</p>	<p>A 1. voce. A car. 5 A 2. 4 A 3. 7 A 1. 6 A 2. 7 A 3. 8 A 1. 9 A 2. 10 A 3. 11 A 1. 12 A 2. 13</p>	<p>Donque Cloriza. Rigida Eurilla. Con vn dolente. Gioire gioire. Per pietà. Belle Ninfe. Non si che sia dolor. Vexosette e care. Donzelle che il bel seno. Tronca l'indegno laccio.</p>	<p>A 2. A car. 14 A 1. 15 A 2. 16 A 3. 17 A 2. 18 A 1. 19 A 2. 20 A 1. 21 A 2. 22 A 1. 23</p>
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Alfabeto della Chitarra Spagnola

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z
2	3	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	1	3	1	3	1	3	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	7
0	2	0	2	0	2	3	3	2	3	1	3	1	0	3	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3
0	2	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	0	3	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3
2	3	2	0	1	0	1	3	2	3	1	3	1	0	3	4	2	4	2	4	2	3	3



Example 5. Transcription of the *alfabeto* chart in Kapsberger, *Libro secondo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1619)

Example 5 displays the *alfabeto* chart from Kapsberger's *Libro secondo di villanelle* (1619). The chart is organized into two rows of musical notation, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first row contains chords A through M, and the second row contains chords N through Z. Each chord is represented by a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. Below each staff, the letters of the alphabet are listed, and the corresponding fingerings (numbers 1-5) are provided for each letter. The fingerings are listed in a 4x4 grid format, with the first column representing the left hand (thumb to index) and the second column representing the right hand (index to pinky).

Letter	1	2	3	4	5
A	2	0	0	3	3
B	3	2	0	3	3
C	0	0	2	3	2
D	0	2	2	0	1
E	0	0	2	3	1
F	2	1	0	0	0
G	3	3	2	1	1
H	1	3	3	1	1
I	0	2	2	0	0
K	1	3	3	1	3
L	3	5	5	4	3
M	1	3	4	4	3
N	3	1	3	4	2
O	1	0	3	4	4
P	1	0	1	3	4
Q	1	3	1	2	4
R	4	3	1	2	2
S	4	4	4	2	2
T	2	4	4	3	2
V	4	2	2	2	5
X	2	2	0	0	0
Y	2	2	4	5	4
Z	3	3	5	5	5

Example 6. Transcription of the *alfabeto* chart in Montesardo, *Nuove inventioni d'intavolatura* (Florence: Marescotti, 1606)

Example 6 displays the *alfabeto* chart from Montesardo's *Nuove inventioni d'intavolatura* (1606). The chart is organized into two rows of musical notation, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first row contains chords A through N, and the second row contains chords O through Rx. Each chord is represented by a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. Below each staff, the letters of the alphabet are listed, and the corresponding fingerings (numbers 1-5) are provided for each letter. The fingerings are listed in a 4x4 grid format, with the first column representing the left hand (thumb to index) and the second column representing the right hand (index to pinky).

Letter	1	2	3	4	5
A	2	0	0	3	3
B	3	2	0	3	3
C	0	0	2	3	2
D	0	2	2	0	1
E	0	0	2	3	1
F	2	1	0	0	0
+	2	0	0	1	1
G	3	3	2	1	1
H	1	3	3	1	1
I	0	2	2	0	0
K	1	3	3	1	3
L	3	5	5	4	3
M	1	3	4	4	3
N	3	1	3	4	2
O	1	3	4	2	4
P	0	3	4	2	4
Q	0	1	3	3	4
R	3	1	2	2	5
S	3	1	2	2	4
T	4	2	4	2	5
V	4	4	2	2	2
X	2	4	4	3	2
Y	5	5	4	3	3
Z	3	5	5	3	3
U	4	3	1	2	1
9	2	2	5	5	3
Rx	3	3	6	5	5

As illustrated in these examples, Kapsberger's charts reference a format based on Montesardo's chart published in Florence four years earlier. In fact, with the exception of two (B and R), chords A through R of Kapsberger's and Montesardo's chart share the same sonorities and voicings, re-emphasizing the standardization of the *alfabeto* language throughout Italy. Kapsberger's chart, however, leaves out four of Montesardo's chords

(Y, Z, U, and 9), which leads to a mismatch in the chord assignment after chord R. The remaining six chords of Montesardo's chart are not lost but renamed in Kapsberger's charts, thus (V in Montesardo becomes S in Kapsberger, $X \rightarrow T$, $T \rightarrow V$, $R_x \rightarrow Z$, $S \rightarrow Y$, and $+ \rightarrow X$. Among Montesardo's omitted chords, Y, Z, and 9 are inversions of chords found in Kapsberger's (A, D, and X respectively; these chords aren't really "left out", just presented in multiple inverted versions in Montesardo's chart) while chord "&" spells a sonority (Db-F-Ab) in Montesardo that is neither replicated nor inverted in Kapsberger's chart.

These differences and similarities among the chart styles attest to both the standardization and change that the *alfabeto* language endured across regional centers. It is interesting to note that while Kapsberger retained the first two-thirds of Montesardo's system, the final third was entirely revamped even though the sonorities and voicings of the shared chords were no different. This differs with Venetian *alfabeto* charts, which although published over ten years after Kapsberger's first *villanelle* book, remained more faithful to Montesardo's model. The charts reveal that the system of *alfabeto* was first introduced early in the 1600s in the Neapolitan Montesardo's publications, and later codified in Kapsberger's *alfabeto* early songbooks of the 1610s. Venetian *alfabeto* publications, on the other hand, are largely responsible for standardizing the charts in publications after 1620.

The publishing history of Roman *alfabeto* songs demonstrates that the *alfabeto* system and the Spanish guitar were identified early on as components of Roman practice. Through an examination of the chronology of *alfabeto* charts, it also becomes apparent that early Roman charts serve as models for later Venetian publications of *alfabeto* song.

Despite the Venetian proclivity for publishing the repertory throughout the 1620s and 30s, the publication history also suggests that the *alfabeto* system and singing to the Spanish guitar was well known early on in Rome, and consequently explicated Roman musical identity throughout Italy in the seventeenth century.

Naples

Alfabeto song publishing in Naples in many ways mirrors that of Rome with the notable exception that all of Naples's *alfabeto* song prints (both first editions and reprints) were published before 1620. The 1610s also marked the decade that saw both Rome and Naples leading Venice in the output of *alfabeto* songs, a striking observation given that Venice would virtually eclipse all other printing centers in the publication of the repertory during the 1620s.

Manuscript source studies agree that the "Bologna" manuscript (I-Bu MS 177/iv) and the "Traetta" manuscript (I-Rvat, Chigi L.vi.200) are the earliest Italian musical documents that contain *alfabeto* tablature for the Spanish guitar.¹¹⁸ Problems in the dating of the Bologna manuscript (ca.1585-1600) have led Hill to acknowledge the Traetta manuscript as the earliest datable Italian *alfabeto* source (1599).¹¹⁹ Significantly, both sources are of Neapolitan provenance and both sources employ the *alfabeto* system as vocal accompaniment. These early sources are not only important for determining the geographical origins of the *alfabeto* system in Italy, but more fundamentally, they illustrate that the system of *alfabeto* in its earliest documented stage was exclusively

¹¹⁸ More detailed information about these sources can be found in Hill, 70-4, and Tyler, 37-45.

¹¹⁹ Hill, 70.

associated with vocal music, not, as has been assumed in the past, to an instrumental tradition.¹²⁰

It might seem surprising at first given the predominance of single-voice *alfabeto* songs in later sources, but the Neapolitan prints contain a significant number of three-part *alfabeto* songs in the Neapolitan tradition of *canzone villanesche*. While this subject will be explored in later chapters, it is worth noting here as the relationships between the multi-voiced format and the layout of Neapolitan *alfabeto* song prints reveal much about the origins of *alfabeto* practice.

In 1616, Lucrezio Nucci published Paolo D'Aragona's *Amorose querele* and *Soavi ardori*, two collections of three-voiced *canzonette* with *alfabeto*. Nucci advertised these collections with the following inscription on the title page:

Canzonette a tre voci segnate con le lettere dell'alfabeto per la Chitarra alla spagnola sopra la parte del Basso e Canto. Di Paolo D'Aragona In Napoli per Lucretio Nucci 1616. Con licenza de' Superiori.	Canzonettas for three voices scripted with alphabetical letters for the Spanish Guitar above the Bass and Canto parts. By Paolo D'Aragona. Printed in Naples by Lucretio Nucci, 1616 with license of the Superiors.
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Printing *alfabeto* above the canto as well as the bass is for Nucci an intentional act; not only does he advertise the practice on the title page, but he also considers it integral to the work despite the redundancy of duplicating the *alfabeto* in separate parts. The implications for the performance practice of this tradition are that performers either singing, or reading from the bass and canto parts can accompany the tunes. *Alfabeto* in the bass may not seem surprising, as it follows the practice of contemporaneous musical publications of adding figures to the bass to indicate harmonic voicing. *Alfabeto* in the canto part, however, shifts the emphasis of harmonic figuration away from the bass and

¹²⁰ See Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 182-93.

to the melody, a practice that would seem counterintuitive in repertories with *basso continuo* or *basso seguente*. On the other hand, it suggests that the three-voice *canzonette* can be reduced to a melody voice and guitar accompaniment, perhaps even independent of the bass. Arguably, Nucci's decision to print D'Aragona's *canzonette* with such flexible options could have been influenced by a desire to attract wider audiences. The prints remain traditional in their three-voiced form, but also satisfy extra demand for solo or duet singing.

The practice of reducing three-voiced *canzonette* to single-voiced accompanied versions is suggested in other Neapolitan prints. Orazio Giaccio's *Armoniose voci*, first published jointly by Nucci and Giovanni Battista Gargano in 1613, features *alfabeto* not in the vocal parts, but rather above the texted verses in the basso part. As in the D'Aragona prints, the placement of the *alfabeto* implies a variety of flexible performance options, including singing solo to guitar accompaniment.

As was suggested earlier, printing *alfabeto* above the canto part might seem at first foreign when compared to other printed practices of harmonic figuration. It should be noted, however, that guitar letters are notated above all of the canto parts of the tunes in the Bologna manuscript that incorporate *alfabeto*. In this way, the print tradition in Naples can be seen as standardizing of the layout of *alfabeto* songs as presented in early manuscripts. The placement of the *alfabeto* above the canto part in three-voiced pieces in the printed tradition, coupled with the initial printed appearance of the repertory in Naples supplies more evidence of the Neapolitan provenance of the *alfabeto* song tradition.¹²¹

¹²¹ Tyler notes the provenance of *alfabeto* song in Neapolitan manuscripts.

Milan

An interesting result from the data is the noticeable presence of the Milanese press in the production of *alfabeto* songbooks. Although the city never did compete with Rome or Venice in the printing of secular vocal music during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Milan published sacred music at a steady and at times extensive rate during the first half of the *seicento*.¹²² Milan, like Naples, also maintained its Spanish identity throughout the early modern era (having been a Spanish province since the mid sixteenth century), and accordingly Milanese *alfabeto* song publications reflect both the publishing trends and the cultural profile of the city.

To this latter point, it is significant that Milan published the first *alfabeto* songbook in the Spanish language, Benedetto Sanseverino's *El segundo libro de los ayres* ([n.p.], 1616).¹²³ Recently recovered at the library of the Conservatorio C. Pollini in Padua, the book's title and date suggest that Sanseverino compiled a previous first book of *ayres* earlier in the century, leading to the consideration of an early seventeenth-century Spanish Milanese *alfabeto* song tradition that coincides with the early Neapolitan and Roman traditions.¹²⁴ All of the existing early Milanese prints, however, stand out among the repertory through their close associations with instrumental practice. This is not only demonstrated in the activities of the composers of the editions, but also in the content and layout of the prints.

¹²² This is shown through a comparison of the tables outlining Italian music publishing in Pompilio, 96-102. Pompilio's data show that while Milan averaged about five secular publications per year from 1600 to 1650, Venice averaged upwards of 70 per year and Rome 15 per year during this same time period. Sacred music publishing in Milan, however, figures much more prolifically in Pompilio's data.

¹²³ This print is listed in Tyler's catalogue, 98.

¹²⁴ Passadore, 24.

Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna's *Il secondo libro d'intavolatura* (Milan: Eredi di Giovanni Battista Colonna, 1620) is the first in a series of *alfabeto* prints that disperse songs with *alfabeto* among a larger collection of instrumental pieces for the guitar. Editions of this type were published as part of an extensive tradition of guitar *intavolature* that was especially cultivated in Milan, Rome, and Bologna throughout the seventeenth century.¹²⁵ Sanseverino and Colonna, both guitarists, authored all but one of the Milanese *alfabeto* song prints, and each of their publications employs the *intavolatura* format.

Colonna's occupation as both a guitarist and printer appear to have influenced the format and language of his *intavolatura* prints. In contrast with other *alfabeto* song printers and composers, Colonna's publications discuss matters of notation, rhythm, strumming, and tuning, some of it gleaned from earlier sources (such as Montesardo's *Nuove inventione*) and some of it original.¹²⁶ Sanseverino, whose publications were printed by Filippo Lomazzo, advocates similar ideas in his *intavolature* with *alfabeto* songs. His publications offer a refinement of *battuta* (strummed) notation and tuning that has been described as pivotal in the standardization of seventeenth-century guitar notation.¹²⁷

The *intavolature* of the early 1620s are the last Milanese *alfabeto* song collections until Carlo Francesco Rolla's 1657 publication of one of most expansive yet elusive

¹²⁵ In-depth studies of the *alfabeto* solo guitar tradition in Italy include Gary R. Boye, "Giovanni Battista Granata and the Development of Printed Music for the Guitar in Seventeenth-Century Italy," Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1995; Tyler, 52-99; and Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2 vols., (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1919), 2: 171-218.

¹²⁶ Gary R. Boye and Robert Strizich, "Colonna, Giovanni Ambrosio" *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 1 February 2006) <<http://www.grovemusic.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>>

¹²⁷ Tyler, 58.

collections of *alfabeto* song, the anonymous *Canzonette sprituali e morali*.¹²⁸ According to the title page, this 200-page edition of sacred *alfabeto* songs anthologizes the musical repertory of the Oratory of Chiavenna, a provincial town just north of Lago di Como near today's Italian-Swiss border.¹²⁹ This late publication demonstrates the standardization of the *alfabeto* system across a large cross-section of northern Italy at mid-century; there is no *alfabeto* chart and none of the pedagogical material that prefaces the earlier Milanese publications.

The *Canzonette sprituali e morali* is an important document because it is indicative of a specific performing tradition that employed the *alfabeto* system. The use of *alfabeto* song in sacred environments noted in this print is confirmed in Foriano Pico's *Nuova scelta di sonate per la chitarra spagnola* (Naples: Paci, 16[?]8), where *alfabeto* is printed alongside the Litany of the saints. The presence of the *alfabeto* system in sacred publications illustrates that the inclusion of *alfabeto* in Rolla's collection was probably not an afterthought or an attempt on the printer's part to increase the marketability of the publication as it has been argued for Vincenti's publications.¹³⁰ Although Rolla was

¹²⁸ Mariangela Donà claims a publication date of 1653 as printed in a copy housed in the Biblioteca Municipale in Reggio Emilia. See Donà, *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all'anno 1700* (Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1961), 69. In a copy preserved in the Biblioteca Panizzi in Reggio Emilia, the final page of music (p. 181) states: "In Milano, Per Carlo Francesco Rolla Stamp. Con licenza de' Superiori 1657." According to the Panizzi staff and official website (<http://panizzi.comune.re.it>), the Biblioteca municipale and Biblioteca popolare of Reggio Emilia were consolidated to form the new Biblioteca Panizzi in 1975. Unless there is a second copy of this print in the Panizzi, Donà's date is most likely a misprint.

¹²⁹ The full title of the collection reads: *CANZONETTE / Sprituali, e Morali, / Che si cantano nell'Oratorio di / Chiavenna, eretto sotto la / Protezione di S. Filippo / Neri / Accomodate per cantar à 1.2.3. voci come / più piace, con le lettere della Chitarra / sopra Aria comuni, e nuovi date in / luce per trattenimento Spirituale / d'ogni persona.*

¹³⁰ Fortune's claim that the "commercially-minded" Vincenti haphazardly applied *alfabeto* to pre-existing music (cited early in this chapter), has been echoed in more recent scholarship. See Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 187-88.

undoubtedly familiar with the *alfabeto* system through his father's publications, he did not publish any other work with *alfabeto* apart from the *Canzonette*.¹³¹

Venice

Venice needs no introduction as Italy's foremost music publishing center throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth. Its participation in the printing of *alfabeto* songs began in 1613 with the anthology entitled *Orfeo* and would grow to comprise nearly 45 percent of the entire printed repertory. Roark Miller has explored the central role that Venice played in the printed dissemination of solo song with *alfabeto* in his dissertation and a subsequent article on the prints of Remigio Romano.¹³² In his research Miller argues for the consideration of an exclusive Venetian solo song style based on textual and musical concordances, musical style analysis, and patronage, to which there additionally exists a penchant for intabulating prints with *alfabeto*. The practice of incorporating *alfabeto* in Venetian monodic prints, according to Miller, is the result of Venetian composers' contact with a separately cultivated tradition of dances and variations for the guitar that is divorced from vocal traditions.¹³³ Miller also claims that the association of *alfabeto* with vocal music does not surface in the literature until the surge of Venetian *alfabeto* song prints issued at the start of the 1620s.¹³⁴ As will be

¹³¹ Carlo's father, Giorgio, was one of Milan's most prominent music publishers during the first half of the seventeenth century, and published at least one instrumental collection with *alfabeto*, Giovanni Battista Sfondrino's *Trattimento virtuoso. Disposto in leggiadrissime sonate per la chitarra* (1637). While Sfondrino's print has been noted as anonymously published (Donà, 124), in a copy housed in the Biblioteca del Conservatorio statale di musica Luigi Cherubini in Florence, Giorgio Rolla is named as the printer on the title page. See Boye, "Chronological List," "Sfondrino (1637)."

¹³² Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," and "New Information on the Chronology of Venetian Monody: the *Raccolte* of Remigio Romano," *Music and Letters* 77 (1996): 22-33.

¹³³ Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 189-90.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 182-83.

shown later in this chapter, this thesis presents a somewhat incomplete picture of *alfabeto* song printed and composed in Venice and throughout Italy.

In revisiting the chronology of *alfabeto* song publishing in the seventeenth century, the figures reveal a number of important issues concerning the publication history of *alfabeto* song among Italy's printing centers. As reflected in Table 4, the general picture of *alfabeto* song publishing is characterized by a peak in the 1620s followed by steady decline. This trajectory is mirrored in all of the printing centers with the exception of Naples. However, in breaking down further the publication history according to printing centers, it is revealed that each of the four major printing centers have their own type of publication history (Table 7).

Table 7: The chronology of *alfabeto* song prints issued 1610-1665¹³⁵

<i>City of Publication</i>	<i>Decades</i>					
	1610-20	1621-30	1631-40	1641-50	1651-60	1661-5
Venice	7	26	12	5	1	0
Rome	9	16	2	2	3	2
Milan	3	2	0	0	1	0
Naples	7	0	0	0	0	0
Other	4	5	2	1	1	1
Total	30	49	16	8	6	3

Venice, for example, championed *alfabeto* song publishing only during the 1620s and 30s; during the 1610s and 40s, it contributed on more or less an equal level with the rest of Italy, and during the 50s and 60s it published only one book. Rome, whose trajectory reflects the peak of the 20s, led in publication numbers during the teens and published five books during the 50s and 60s. Milan and Naples shared a history of peaking their

¹³⁵ These figures represent first editions as presented in Appendix 1.

publishing activity before 1620, with Naples producing all of its repertory during the 1610s.

In terms of increase and decline, these figures provide a more complex picture. On the one hand, Rome and minor (“other”) centers of publication maintained a relatively stable output throughout the six decades, while on the other hand, Naples and most dramatically Venice exhibit erratic trends in publishing throughout the first half of the century. While these numbers again confirm Venice as the leader in the publication of the repertory, they also lead to provocative arguments against past claims for Venetian hegemony in the production of *alfabeto* song. It should be emphasized, however, that the provenance of a print can be determined by factors other than the place of publication, such as the city or area of the composer/compiler’s employment, as well as the provenance of earlier prints and manuscripts if the print is judged to have been copied from those sources. Unlike Rome, Naples, and Milan, Venetian *alfabeto* song publications featured music of composers from various locations around Italy. Among the Venetian editions one finds music from the Milanese composer Giovanni Ghizzolo, the Bolognese Domenico Manzolo, a handful of Roman composers including Filiberto Laurenzi, Stefano Landi, and Filippo Vitali, as well as several anthologies with concordances in earlier Neapolitan, Roman, and Florentine prints and manuscripts. The cosmopolitan flair of Venetian *alfabeto* song publishers should not, however, overshadow the significant number of local composers who are represented in the prints. As the chart above illustrates, 32 out of the total 50 Venetian publications are native collections. To this extent, Miller’s focus on the Venetian proclivity toward *alfabeto* song is not exactly

overstatement. In fact, based on publishing figures alone, one would assume a Venetian provenance for the repertory.

Ubiquitous among Venetian editions are *alfabeto* charts, visual renderings of the *alfabeto* language designed presumably for amateurs or those uninitiated into the system. As previously mentioned, these remain conspicuously absent from Neapolitan and Roman prints, perhaps indicative of the widespread knowledge of the system among the musicians in those areas. The printed sources for the Venetian charts appear to emanate from Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura*, a guitar instructional book published in Florence in 1606. Montesardo, a Pugliese native from the region of Lecce who worked in Bologna, Rome, Naples, and Lecce, would later contribute the *alfabeto* songbook *I lieti giorni di Napoli* to the repertory in 1612, and may have contributed earlier with a lost publication in Spanish *El primo libro de la canciones villanelas*.¹³⁶ Montesardo's chart exists as the earliest printed source to advocate the *alfabeto* system, and in comparing the Venetian charts with Montesardo's, it is clear that the publishers were aware of the *Nuove inventione* or perhaps another later publication that incorporated Montesardo's system. The strongest candidate for this later type is Remigio Romano's *Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette musicali*, the earliest extant printed source to preface an edition of *alfabeto* songs with a pedagogical chart (there are no songs or lyrics in the *Nuove inventione*). First printed in Venice in 1618, Romano's print contains what looks to be a chart closely modeled on Montesardo's, with only minor alterations that are retained in subsequent Venetian prints (Examples 6, and 7, and Figure 7).

¹³⁶ Cited as: "Geronimo Montesardo. El pr. lib. de la canciones villanelas, di G.M. 4. Venet. 1606" in Albert Göhler, *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Hilversum: Frits A.M. Knuf, 1961), 54.

Example 7: *Alfabeto* chart from Montesardo, *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura* (Florence: Marescotti, 1606)

The image shows two staves of musical notation, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff contains 14 measures, each with a letter name below it: A, B, C, D, E, F, +, G, H, I, K, L, M, N. The second staff contains 14 measures, each with a letter name below it: O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z, U, 9, Rx. Each letter name is followed by a set of four numbers (fingerings) arranged in a 2x2 grid. The first staff's fingerings are: A (2, 0, 0, 3), B (3, 2, 0, 0), C (0, 0, 2, 2), D (0, 2, 2, 1), E (0, 0, 2, 3), F (2, 2, 1, 0), + (2, 2, 0, 0), G (3, 3, 2, 1), H (1, 3, 2, 3), I (0, 2, 3, 2), K (1, 3, 2, 2), L (3, 1, 0, 1), M (1, 3, 4, 3), N (3, 1, 1, 4). The second staff's fingerings are: O (1, 0, 0, 3), P (3, 3, 1, 1), Q (4, 4, 3, 2), R (2, 4, 3, 2), S (2, 4, 5, 4), T (4, 2, 2, 5), V (4, 4, 2, 2), X (2, 4, 2, 2), Y (5, 5, 4, 3), Z (3, 5, 5, 3), U (4, 3, 1, 1), 9 (2, 2, 5, 3), Rx (3, 3, 6, 5).

Letter	1	2	3	4
A	2	0	0	3
B	3	2	0	0
C	0	0	2	2
D	0	2	2	1
E	0	0	2	3
F	2	2	1	0
+	2	2	0	0
G	3	3	2	1
H	1	3	2	3
I	0	2	3	2
K	1	3	2	2
L	3	1	0	1
M	1	3	4	3
N	3	1	1	4
O	1	0	0	3
P	3	3	1	1
Q	4	4	3	2
R	2	4	3	2
S	2	4	5	4
T	4	2	2	5
V	4	4	2	2
X	2	4	2	2
Y	5	5	4	3
Z	3	5	5	3
U	4	3	1	1
9	2	2	5	3
Rx	3	3	6	5

Figure 9. Romano, *Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette* (Venice: Salvadori, 1618)



Example 8: Transcription of Romano, *Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette* (Venice: Salvadori, 1618)¹³⁷

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K	L	M	N
2	2	3	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	1	3	1	3
2	0	2	0	2	0	2	3	3	2	3	1	1	1
0	0	0	2	2	2	1	2	3	2	3	0	3	1
0	3	1	3	1	2	0	1	3	2	2	3	4	1
0	3	0	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	3	4

O	P	Q	R	S	T	V	X	Y	Z	&	ç	Rx
1	3	4	2	2	4	4	2	5	3	4	2	3
0	3	4	4	2	4	4	4	5	5	3	2	3
0	1	3	4	4	2	2	4	4	5	1	4	5
3	1	2	4	5	3	2	3	3	5	2	5	6
3	1	2	2	4	5	2	2	3	3	1	3	5

¹³⁷ In chords E and T there appear to be typographical errors in the tablature. These were corrected in later published versions of the chart, as seen in Milanuzzi's *Primo scherzo* (below).

In contrast with Kapsberger's charts in Rome, Romano's chart more or less retains the language Montesardo's *alfabeto* chart with three minor exceptions: the placement of chord + at the head of the chart, the alteration of chord R (certainly a typographical error in Montesardo's chart), and the renaming of chord 9 to chord ç. With exception of the inevitable editorial alteration of Romano's typographical errors (see chords E and T), later Venetian charts replicate Romano's letter assignment, chord spelling, numbered tablature and voicing and doubling, as seen in the charts of Milanuzzi and Ghizzolo.

(Examples 9 and 10)

Example 9: Transcription of *alfabeto* chart from Milanuzzi, *Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (Venice: Magni, 1622)

The image displays two systems of musical notation for a lute or guitar, each featuring a series of chords represented by letter labels and corresponding numbered tablature. The first system includes chords labeled +, A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, and N. The second system includes chords labeled O, P, Q, R, S, T, V, X, Y, Z, &, 2, and Rx. Each chord is represented by a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tablature is written below the staff, with numbers 0-4 indicating fret positions. The notation is a transcription of a historical chart from Milanuzzi's *Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (1622).

Chord	Tablature (Frets)
+	2 2 3 0 0 0 2 3 1 0 1 3 1 3
A	2 0 2 0 2 0 2 3 3 2 3 1 1 1
B	0 0 0 2 2 2 1 3 3 2 3 0 3 1
C	0 3 1 3 2 3 0 1 3 2 3 3 4 1
D	0 3 0 2 0 1 0 1 1 0 1 3 3 4
E	2 3 0 2 0 2 2 3 3 2 3 1 1 1
F	2 3 1 2 1 2 1 3 3 2 3 0 3 1
G	3 3 3 2 3 2 3 3 3 2 3 1 3 3
H	1 0 1 3 1 3 1 0 1 3 1 3 1 3
I	0 1 3 2 3 2 3 1 3 2 3 1 3 3
K	1 3 3 1 3 3 3 3 3 2 3 3 3 3
L	3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
M	1 3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
N	3 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
O	1 3 4 2 2 4 4 2 5 3 4 2 3 3
P	3 3 4 4 2 4 4 4 5 3 4 2 3 3
Q	4 4 4 4 2 4 4 4 5 3 4 2 3 3
R	2 4 4 4 2 4 4 4 5 3 4 2 3 3
S	2 4 4 4 2 4 4 4 5 3 4 2 3 3
T	4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 3 3 3 3 3 3
V	4 4 4 4 2 4 4 4 5 3 4 2 3 3
X	2 4 4 4 2 4 4 4 5 3 4 2 3 3
Y	5 5 5 5 2 5 5 5 3 3 3 3 3 3
Z	3 3 3 3 2 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3
&	4 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3 4 2
2	2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3 4 2 3
Rx	3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3 3

Example 10: Transcription of *alfabeto* chart from Ghizzolo, *Frutti d'amore...libro quinto* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1623)

Letter	2	0	3	3
A	2	0	3	3
B	3	2	0	0
C	0	0	2	2
D	0	2	2	0
E	0	0	2	1
F	2	2	1	0
+	2	2	0	0
G	3	2	2	1
H	1	3	3	1
I	0	2	2	0
K	1	3	2	1
L	3	1	0	3
M	1	3	3	3
N	3	1	4	4

Letter	1	0	3	3
O	1	0	3	3
P	3	1	1	1
Q	4	3	2	2
R	2	4	4	2
S	2	4	5	4
T	4	2	2	5
V	4	4	2	2
X	2	4	3	2
Y	5	4	3	2
Z	3	5	3	3
&	4	3	2	1
9	2	4	5	3
Rx	3	5	6	5

Shown chronologically, these Venetian charts depict a common lineage to Montesardo and further illustrates how the Venetian prints served to standardize the prevailing printed language of the *alfabeto* system.

One important contrast between the Venetian charts and those of earlier models is the inclusion of two scale collections with corresponding *alfabeto*. Although the publications make no reference to the specific purposes of these scales, their subtitles are concerned with illustrating the difference between playing *alfabeto* in keys with and without B-flat. As noted in Example 10, the scales are written in bass clef with corresponding letters above the notes.

Example 11a: "Scala di Musica per B. Quadro," Miniscalchi, *Arie...Libro terzo* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1630)

Example 11a shows a musical scale with chords in the treble staff and scalar notes in the bass staff. The chords are labeled A, D, A, B, C, F, G, A, D. The tablature below the bass staff consists of nine measures, each with four numbers representing fret positions on a four-string instrument. The numbers are: Measure 1: 2, 0, 3, 3; Measure 2: 0, 2, 1, 0; Measure 3: 2, 0, 3, 3; Measure 4: 3, 2, 1, 0; Measure 5: 0, 0, 3, 2; Measure 6: 2, 2, 0, 0; Measure 7: 3, 3, 1, 1; Measure 8: 2, 0, 3, 3; Measure 9: 0, 2, 2, 0.

Example 11b: "Scala di Musica per B. Molle," Miniscalchi, *Arie...libro terzo* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1630)

Example 11b shows a musical scale with chords in the treble staff and scalar notes in the bass staff. The chords are labeled G, O, D, H, B, E*, F, G, O, D, H. The tablature below the bass staff consists of eleven measures, each with four numbers representing fret positions. The numbers are: Measure 1: 3, 3, 2, 1; Measure 2: 1, 0, 0, 3; Measure 3: 0, 2, 1, 0; Measure 4: 1, 3, 3, 1; Measure 5: 3, 2, 0, 1; Measure 6: 0, 0, 3, 3; Measure 7: 2, 2, 1, 0; Measure 8: 3, 3, 1, 1; Measure 9: 1, 0, 3, 0; Measure 10: 0, 2, 2, 1; Measure 11: 1, 3, 3, 1.

* Misprint in tablature. As the charts above illustrate, the number on the third fret should read "2" instead of "3", lowering the B-flat to A.

The first scale ("*Scala di Musica per B. Quadro*") implies a mixed language of tonal and modal sonorities. Considering the scalar notes and *alfabeto* chords in tonal terms, the series of chords reads: G major, A minor, G major (1st inversion), C major, D major, E major, F major, G major, A minor. From a theoretical point of view, the scale, wrought with harmonic cross relations and polymodality, appears awkward. The second "*Scala di Musica per B. Molle*" presents similar problems, most notably in the harmonic cross relations created by the chord series Bb major – C major – D major – E major. But from a pedagogical standpoint, from which the chart presumably emanates, the scales seem to be

functioning as a device that illustrates the possibility of playing different chords over a single bass note, depending on the mode or key of the tune. The bass note G, for example, can be played with an A chord or an O chord; a D in the bass can be accompanied by either a C chord or an E chord, and so on. The nature of these scalar charts suggests that once a student learned to associate certain chords with bass notes according to the tune's modality, he or she could provide accompaniment without the assistance of letters, even in different keys. This has far-reaching consequences for other harmonic instruments. Here *alfabeto* functions simply as a system of corresponding vertical sonorities that is easily translatable to any instrument that can produce harmony. As in our modern chordal language, only the knowledge of letter names and corresponding harmonic structures is needed for performers of any chordal instrument to employ the system.

The standardization of pedagogical material in Venetian *alfabeto* prints was witnessed mainly in the publications of Vincenti, who published the bulk of *alfabeto* songbooks in Venice. His decision not to incorporate more comprehensive systems of *alfabeto* and pedagogical material that was becoming increasingly important to instrumental collections that included *alfabeto* throughout the 1630s and 40s is unclear.¹³⁸ Certainly Vincenti knew these publications through his own contributions to the repertory as well as those of his competitors. His sensitivity to demand in the commercial music market, especially during economically unstable times, may, on the other hand suggest

¹³⁸ The expanding language of *alfabeto* tablature in solo guitar literature is discussed in Wolf, 172-6 and Boye, "Giovanni Battista Granata." Title-page and prefatory material transcriptions of many *alfabeto rasgueado* (strummed style) guitar books (including *alfabeto* charts) have been published by Boye on the internet, allowing for an even more detailed analysis of the increasingly complex *alfabeto* language of Roman, Bolognese, and Milanese solo guitar prints. See Boye's interactive "Chronological List of *Rasgueado* Tablatures" at <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/strummed.html> (accessed 1 June 2006). Special thanks to the author for allowing this link to be cited and published here.

that Vincenti's standard chart sufficed the needs of *alfabeto* song print buyers. Arguably, the instrumental repertory attracted a much smaller audience; the music was demanding and its performing forces not as flexible and varied as that of *alfabeto* song. The charts at any rate attest to Vincenti's awareness of the potential unfamiliarity of his audience with a system of chord tablature that originated in the south of Italy. This, even despite his continual inclusion of the chart in *alfabeto* songbooks published as late as the 1640s.

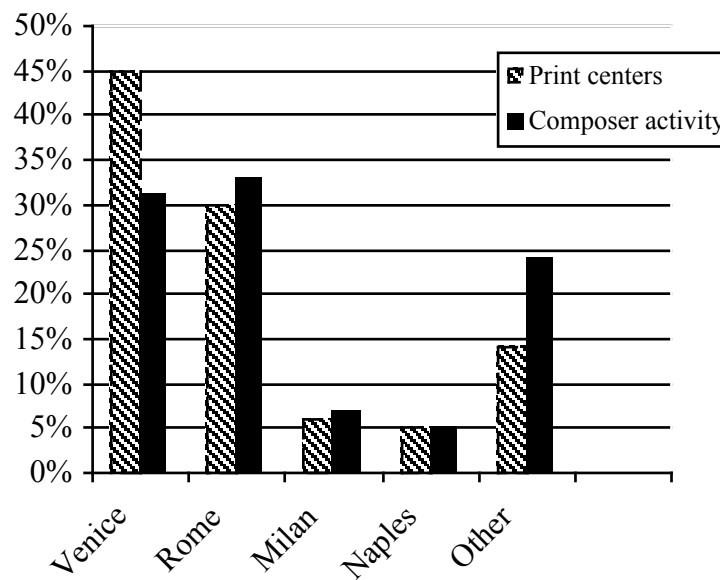
The picture that begins to emerge after close consideration of the publishing history of the repertory is a standardization of Neapolitan, Roman, and even Milanese traditions through the Venetian presses. This is illustrated through several aspects of the Venetian publishing tradition, such as trends in the repertory's output, the variety of composers represented in the publications, and the presence of *alfabeto* charts that precede the editions. While it is true that Venice published more *alfabeto* books than any other Italian printing center, it contributed significantly only after 1620, and after that published as many books by native musicians as did Rome. These trends, while not ignoring the role that Venice played in the dissemination of the repertory, portray Venice as contributing to the repertory in a less demonstrative fashion than has been previously characterized.

Provincial Centers

Before considering the publishing history of the fourth and final printing center(s) of *alfabeto* song, it will be helpful to review the publication data noted earlier. Below are visual representations of this data in graph and chart form that clearly demonstrates that "other" (mainly provincial or quasi-urbanized) towns like Orvieto and Bracciano not only participated on an equal footing with the combined print effort of Milan and Naples, but

they also served as the activity centers of composers for nearly 25% of the total printed output (Figure 10 and Table 8). This highlights the significant role that cities outside the major metropolitan centers played in disseminating the *alfabeto* song repertory through print.

Figure 10: Printing and composer activity of *alfabeto* song publishing, 1610-1665, figured according to percentages of the entire printed output¹³⁹



¹³⁹ First editions only.

Table 8: Breakdown of publication data according to composer region and city of activity

<i>Composer Region</i>	<i>Number of prints</i>	<i>Composer city of activity</i>
Campania/Puglia	9	Bitonto: 2 Naples: 7
Emilia/Romagna	4	Bologna: 1 Cesena: 1 Forlì: 2
Lazio/Marches	39	Rome: 38 Viterbo: 1
Lombardy/Piedmont	9	Milan: 7 Turin: 2
Tuscany	5	Florence: 5
Sicily	1	Messina: 1
Veneto/Friuli	40	Padua: 1 Valvasone (Pordenone): 1 Venice: 35 Verona: 2 Outside Italy: 1
Anonymous	5	

In examining the role that smaller towns (the “other” category) outside Italy’s six major music-printing areas (Venice, Rome, Florence, Milan, Bologna, Naples) played in the dissemination of the *alfabeto* song, it should be noted that provincial music printing was not typical in sixteenth-century Italy. This point is illustrated in the printing history of the *canzona villanesca alla napolitana* repertory, which apart from the madrigal, was the most widely printed genre of secular vocal music in Italy during the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁰ As expected, Venice leads in the printing production of the repertory, with Rome, Milan, and Naples following behind in less impressive numbers.¹⁴¹ Interestingly, only one provincial town participated in the printing of *canzone villanesche*: the city of

¹⁴⁰ This is demonstrated in the combined output of the Venetian printing firms of Scotto and Gardano, who together published 102 editions of *canzone villanesche* during the sixteenth century, second in publication only to the madrigal. A comparison of this output with other sixteenth century genres published by Scotto and Gardano is noted in Bernstein, 148.

¹⁴¹ See Appendices A and C in Cardamone, 2: 1-23, 35-51.

Capua (located just north of Naples), which produced a non-extant anthology in 1547.¹⁴²

Bianca Maria Antolini credits the expansion of Giovanni Battista Robletti's Roman press to the hamlets of Rieti and Tivoli in the 1620s and 30s as economically motivated, noting that the firms were subsidized by local administrations.¹⁴³ Other seventeenth century music printers followed suit in Rome and elsewhere, including Andrea Fei (Rome) in Bracciano in 1621, Bartolomeo Zannetti (Rome) in Orvieto in 1620 or 21, Giovanni Giacomo Carlino (Naples) in Tricarico (region of Potenza) in 1613, and Pellegrino Bidelli (Lucca) in S Felice sul Panaro (region of Modena) in 1616.¹⁴⁴ Claudio Sartori referred to the seventeenth century as the age of *editori nomadi italiani*, citing Ottavio Beltrano as the century's most notable "nomadic editor".¹⁴⁵ Born in Calabria, Beltrano opened presses in Cosenza, Sorrento, Montefusco (region of Avellino), Benevento, Ancona, and Naples within the short span of eleven years (1637-1648).

The rise of provincial music printing reflects the changing shape of the Italian economy during the course of the seventeenth century. It is traditionally acknowledged that the decline of the Italian economy in the *seicento* was largely the result of plague and decreased value of manufactured goods. As Carlo Cipolla has noted, this decline was primarily an urban one; the rural economy, on the other hand, increased significantly during the century as urban industries moved to provincial towns to avoid hefty taxes, guild restrictions, and high labor costs.¹⁴⁶ The increasing foreign demand for low-priced

¹⁴² *Canzonj vilanesche napolitane nove scelte et di varij autori* (Città di Capua: Sultzbach, 1547).

Cardamone (2: 5) cites mention of the print in Richard Schaal, "Das Inventar der Kantorei St. Anna in Augsburg," *Catalogus Musicus* 3 (1965): 36.

¹⁴³ Bianca Maria Antolini, "Aspetti dell'editoria musicale a Roma," in *Musica e musicisti nel Lazio*, ed. Renato Lefevre and Arnaldo Morelli (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1985) 16-17.

¹⁴⁴ See the individual printer entries in Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicali*.

¹⁴⁵ Sartori, "Beltrano, Ottavio," *ibid.*, 22.

¹⁴⁶ Carlo Cipolla, "The Economic Decline of Italy," trans. Janet Pullan in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy*, ed. Brian Pullan (London: Methuen, 1968), 132-145.

Italian agricultural exports also contributed to a strengthening rural economy. Moreover, the seventeenth century bore witness to an emerging rural elite, a burgeoning class of provincial entrepreneurs who capitalized on the increasing value of agricultural property. Villages such as Poppi in Tuscany and Nerola in Lazio provide examples of how the growing rural economy fostered wealth and prosperity among the rural landscape.¹⁴⁷

Small towns that were once feudal outposts could now support business and industry that was traditionally reserved for urban economic centers. Even more, they could effectively compete with urban centers as they offered business and industry economic incentives. In this respect, it seems fitting that Robletti, Zannetti, and others would seek to establish printing houses in provincial areas. The close proximity to timber and other agricultural goods essential for paper and ink production may have also contributed to the increasing number of provincial music printing centers. The cost of publishing Remigio Romano's four volume collection of *alfabeto* songbooks (*Prima-quarta raccolte* [Pavia: De Rossi, 1625]) could have led the composer to De Rossi's press in Pavia, a leading rural manufacturing center of soap and paper.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ See Giovanna Benedusi, "A Provincial Elite and the Emergence of the Tuscan Regional State: Poppi, a Case Study in Rural Society, 1440-1700," Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1988; and Caroline Castiglione, "Political Culture in Seventeenth-Century Italian Villages," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 (2001): 523-552.

¹⁴⁸ Lynna Hollen Lees and Paul M. Hohenberg, *Urban Decline and Regional Economies: Brabant, Castile, and Lombardy, 1550-1750* (New York and London: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 445. This introduces the larger issue of "urbanism" versus "provincialism" in early modern Italy. While Pavia is considered by Lees and Hohenberg to be an "urban" center with a population of 18,000 in 1600, economically and socially it stands "provincial" in comparison with the "urban" metropolises of Milan, Rome, Venice, and Naples. Although demographics play an important role in defining urban and provincial areas, it is also useful to take into account cultural and social factors that determine urbanization, such as artistic production and patronage, international political influence, and religious/educational institutionalization. To this point Rome, Venice, Milan, Naples, Florence, Bologna, Genoa, and Palermo are indisputable Italian "urbanized" centers in the seventeenth century; Mantua, Ferrara, Turin, Siena, Perugia, and the like are borderline cases to be considered individually. See Lees and Hohenberg, 446. On the subject of Romano's *Prima-quarta raccolta di bellissime canzonette* (Pavia: De Rossi, 1625), this large anthological set of *alfabeto* songs was the only one of Romano's fourteen *alfabeto* song prints not

Several provincial printers of *alfabeto* song publications operated under the previously cited conditions of franchising city businesses out to less populated areas. These include Andrea Fei of Rome, who opened a press in Bracciano, Robletti of Rome, who opened a press in Orvieto, and Angelo Salvadori of Venice, who operated a press in Vicenza. Other printers, such as Giovanni Battista Merli (*e fratelli*) in Verona and Francesco Grossi in Vicenza are known only through their *alfabeto* song publications, and emphasize the options available to composers or patrons who sought to have music published. As mentioned, cost may have been an important factor in driving business away from the established presses of Venice and Rome, especially for musicians like Biagio Marini and Stefano Pesori who were employed in areas more isolated from major urban centers.¹⁴⁹

Reprints

The number of reprints that were issued from Italian music presses between 1610 and 1665 further attests to the notable presence of the *alfabeto* song prints during the *Seicento*. This figure—31 in all—brings the total number of *alfabeto* song publications to 142, with reprints constituting about 20 percent of the known repertory. As in the publication of first editions, the 1620s proved to be the most prolific decade for *alfabeto*

published in either Venice or Vicenza. For the publication history of Romano's *alfabeto* song collections, see Miller, "The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano," 154-5.

¹⁴⁹ Anteo Viotti is known only to have published Marini's *Scherzi e canzonette* (1622) and his music drama *Le lagrime d'Erminia* (1623) (Sartori, *Dizionario degli editori musicale*, 167). From a long line of Parmigiani music publishers, Viotti and his services were requested during Marini's employment with the Farnese court in Parma (Thomas D. Dunn, "Marini, Biagio," *The New Grove Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 2 June 2006) <<http://www.grovemusic.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>> .) Pesori, referred to in his publications as "Stefano Pesori Mantovano", appears to have been working in Verona in 1646, as he signed his dedication to Ferdinando Carlo Archduke of Austria from Verona in the preface to his *Galeria musicale*, published by Giovanni Battista Merli e fratelli in 1646. This pushes back the date of Pesori's move from Mantua to Verona in 1649 offered by Carla Tessari, who noted Pesori's name in the Anagrafi of the contrada Santa Cecilia in Verona in 1649 as the earliest reference to his presence in Verona. See Tessari's introduction in Stefano Pesori, *Galeria musicale*, ed. Carla Tessari (Verona: A.M.I.S., 1989), 5.

song reprints, with the total number (22) comprising about 20 percent of the average number of total music edition reprints issued within this ten-year span (77).¹⁵⁰ The data also demonstrate that the publishing centers of *alfabeto* song maintained more or less the same output trajectories of first editions as they did with reprints, with perhaps the exception of Venice, which published no reprints after 1630.

Table 9: Breakdown of *alfabeto* song reprints by printing center and decade of publication, 1610-1665

City	Decade						Total
	1610-20	1621-30	1631-40	1641-50	1651-60	1661-70	
Venice	1	8	0	0	0	0	9
Rome	1	2	0	0	2	0	5
Milan	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
Naples	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Florence	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Venice & Turin	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Vicenza	0	4	0	0	0	0	4
Pavia	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Total	5	22	2	0	2	0	31
1 st eds. + reprints	35	70	18	8	8	3	142

It is interesting to note that the anthologies of Milanuzzi, Stefani and Roman constitute half of the total number of reprints (Table 10):

¹⁵⁰ This number was figured from the data in Pompilio, "Editoria musicale nel Cinque-Seicento," 97, which although not precise (values were based on their position in Pompilio's graphs), claims an average figure of about 77 total Italian music edition reprints published between 1620 and 1630 (100 in 1620, 75 in 1625, and 55 in 1630. Carter's numbers in "Music Publishing in Italy," 20, which compares the total number of Italian music prints to reprints every fifth year between 1550 and 1640, presents a lesser figure of 13 reprints derived from averaging the number of reprints issued in 1620 (23), 1625 (12), and 1630 (4). As previously mentioned, Pompilio's source bibliography is considerably more comprehensive than Carter's and therefore offers a more realistic perspective on the music publishing business during the first half of the *seicento*.

Table 10: Anthological *alfabeto* song reprints, 1610-1650

<i>Title</i>	<i>Editor</i>	<i>Publisher</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Affetti amorosi</i>	Giovanni Stefani	Venice: A. Vincenti	1621
	Stefani	Vincenti	1623
	Stefani	Vincenti	1626
<i>Scherzi amorosi</i>	Giovanni Stefani	Venice: A. Vincenti	1622
<i>Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>	Remigio Romano	Vicenza: Salvadori	1622
	Romano	Venice & Turin: Cavaleri	1624
	Romano	Pavia: De Rossi	1625
<i>Seconda raccolta di canzonette</i>	Remigio Romano	Vicenza: Salvadori	ca. 1622
	Romano	Venice & Turin: Cavaleri	1624
	Romano	Pavia: De Rossi	1625
<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>	Remigio Romano	Vicenza: Grossi	1621
	Romano	Vicenza: Salvadori	1622
	Romano	Pavia: De Rossi	1625
<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>	Remigio Romano	Venice & Turin: Cavaleri	1624
	Romano	Venice: Salvadori	1625
<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>	Carlo Milanuzzi	Venice: A. Vincenti	1623/4

The large number of reprinted anthologies indicate that anthologies were among the most popular formats for printing *alfabeto* songs in the seventeenth century (just as musical anthologies were popular publications in the sixteenth century.¹⁵¹) This coincides with the widespread appeal of *alfabeto* songs (texts and music) in anthological publications discussed in Chapter 4, and further supports a perception of the relatively

¹⁵¹ On the wide spread appeal of Venetian anthologies in the mid-*cinquecento*, see Ongaro, 43-70.

high demand for *alfabeto* song publications during the unfavorable state of the secular music publishing trade in the early decades of the century.

The subject of *alfabeto* song publication spurs one final topic in this chapter's discussion of the repertory: the question of customer profiles. For sixteenth-century music printing studies (seventeenth-century music printing is comparatively under-represented in musicological literature), the lack of unearthed documents relating to the transactions of Italian music book printers and sellers has forced scholars to speculate about generic profiles of music book consumers.¹⁵² Of the evidence that exists, only relatively few specific accounts regarding music print transactions have been noted, and these activities are limited to the major houses of Venice (Gardano, Scotto) and Rome (Dorico) during the mid-to late-sixteenth century.¹⁵³

On the one hand, the pedagogical nature of many Venetian *alfabeto* song books—discussed in chapter 4—hints at the fact that students of music, or perhaps even music tutors that in turn sold the books to their students, might have comprised a healthy portion of the *alfabeto* song book market. Such a scenario might have been the case in the sale of Stefano Pesori's *alfabeto* books of the 1640s. On two separate occasions Pesori published lengthy registers of his students, categorizing them according to class structure within the Veneto caste system.¹⁵⁴ Numbered among Pesori's pupils include members from all strata of social organization: *Nobili Veneti, Marchesi, Conti, Dottori, Religiosi, Gentilhuomini, Capitani, Cittadini, Mercanti, Tedeschi, and Ebrei*. Pesori's advertisement serves as both a testament to the kinds of people that may have been trained in the *alfabeto* system as

¹⁵² See Agee, 43.

¹⁵³ See accounts in Agee; Bernstein; Suzanne G. Cusick, *Valerio Dorico: Music Printer in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981); and Lewis.

¹⁵⁴ These registers are found in Pesori's *Galeria musicale* (Verona: Giovanni Battista & Fratelli Merli, 1646) and the *Toccate di chitarriglia parte terza* (Verona: Andrea & Fratelli Rossi, [n.d.]).

well as to the social profile of consumers that were likely to have been in the market for music books with *alfabeto* (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Page 1 of the “Registro de’ discepoli piu’ riguardevoli,” from Stefano Pesori’s *Galeria musicale* (Verona: Giovanni Battista & Fratelli Merli, 1646)

<p style="text-align: center;">R E G I S T R O DE DISCEPOLI PIV' RIGVARDEVOLI, Che hanno honorato, ed honorano il suono della Chitarriglia SOTTO GLI INSEGNAMENTI DEL PESORI.</p>	
<p>NOBILI VENETI. L' Illustrissimo Sig. Antonio Guarni Comerlengo di Verona l'anno 1675. L' Illustriss. Sig. Pietro Micheli. L' Illustriss. Sig. Baltan Contarini. L' Illustriss. Sig. Andrea Vendramin. L' Illustriss. Sig. Giusto Antonio Be- llogio. L' Illustriss. Sig. Zorzi, e Caterin Cor- sari. L' Illustriss. Sig. Marin Querini. L' Illustriss. Sig. Zanetto Capello. L' Illustriss. Sig. Baudeslar Balbi. L' Illustriss. Sig. Amerò Barbato. L' Illustriss. Sig. Vincenzo Do'no. L' Illustriss. Sig. Lorenzo Donati. L' Illustriss. Sig. Francesco Zorzi. L' Illustriss. Sig. Carlo dalla Rovere. Nobis Genovese.</p>	<p>L' Illustriss. Sig. Alessandro Capella. L' Illustriss. Sig. Francesco Monnararo. L' Illustriss. Sig. Giulio Cesare, & Marc' Antonio Lauagnoli. L' Illustriss. Sig. Nicolò Giusti. L' Illustriss. Sig. Bernardino Pagliotti Bolognese. L' Illustriss. Sig. Nicolò Giusti.</p>
<p>M A R C H E S I. L' Illustriss. Sig. Marc' Antonio Sagra- mo. L' Illustriss. Sig. Marcello Carloti. L' Illustriss. Sig. Carlo Malaspina. L' Illustriss. Sig. Grauso Grausi. L' Illustriss. Sig. Alfonso Bevilacqua. L' Illustriss. Sig. Bernardin Gherardin. L' Illustriss. Sig. Cesare Spolmerino.</p>	<p>D O T T O R I. L' Eccell. Sig. Gio: Paolo Giultenzi. L' Eccell. Sig. Carlo Pona. L' Eccell. Sig. Francesco Crema. L' Eccell. Sig. Geronimo Enrichi No- bil Boemo. L' Eccell. Sig. Iseardo Dancica Sindaco de' Sig. Scolari di Padova. L' Eccell. sig. Gio: Angelo Merlo. Il Clarissimo Sig. Barcolini Giudice della Regna.</p>
<p>C O N T I. L' Illustriss. Sig. Gierolamo d' Emiglij. L' Illustriss. Sig. Berante d' Emiglij. L' Illustriss. Sig. Geronimo Pompei. L' Illustriss. Sig. Gioanni Pelegriano. L' Illustriss. Sig. Mez' Vsergo Serego. L' Illustriss. Sig. Vincenzo Medici. L' Illustriss. Sig. Carlo Masci. L' Illustriss. Sig. Gaetano Bouillacqua.</p>	<p>R E L I G I O S I. Il Sig. D. Gregorio Macarelli. Il Sig. P. Francesco Brà. Il Sig. D. Gentil P. di S. Giorgio. Il Sig. P. Pietra Santa Somasco. Il Sig. D. Gio: Cozza.</p>
	<p>G E N T I L V O M I N I. Il Sig. Molcardo Moscardi. Il Sig. Gio: Faella. Il Sig. Tebaldo Pellegrini. Il Sig. Emiglio Fumanelli. Il Sig. Pellegrin Redolfi. Il Sig. Antonio Maggio. Il Sig. Ascanio Bagolino. Il Sig. Carlo Morando. Il Sig. Gio: Pietro Reggio. Il Sig. Giacomo Breuzon.</p>

On the other hand, investigation into the economic details of purchasing *alfabeto* in Venice reveals that most Venetian middle-class merchants and master laborers at mid-century could have easily afforded *alfabeto* music books. According to Alessandro Vincenti's catalogue of music prints of 1649, the average cost of an *alfabeto* songbook was between 1 and 2 *lire* (20 – 40 *soldi*), a little more than a Venetian unskilled laborer's (*lavoranto*) average daily wage in 1630.¹⁵⁵ For a conservative comparison, an engineer at the end of the sixteenth century averaged 240 *ducats* (29,760 *soldi* or 1,488 *lire*) per year, placing his average monthly income at 124 *lire*.¹⁵⁶ At mid-century, a skilled Venetian textile worker was documented as earning 24.5 *lire* in one month. To put these numbers in perspective, the monthly cost of rent in an apartment located within the working class Venetian *parrochia* of Angelo Raffaele (San Rocco) averaged 7.9 *lire* in 1651.¹⁵⁷ The cost of an *alfabeto* songbook at mid-century was equal to that of about three linen cloths or a knife used to cut brazilwood.¹⁵⁸

A similar economic scenario appears in Rome. While the prices of individual Roman *alfabeto* songbooks are not known, John Walter Hill cites the cost of a book of *canzonette musicali* in 1600 at 2.04 *scudi*.¹⁵⁹ Contemporaneous accounts, however, render this figure inflated. In 1570, Giovanni Animuccia was reimbursed 1.30 *scudi* for his purchase of Palestrina's third book of masses (about 100 folio pages).¹⁶⁰ At this 1570 rate, a book matching the dimensions of Kapsberger's *Libro primo di villanelle* published in

¹⁵⁵ Brian S. Pullan, *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Methuen, 1968), 158.

¹⁵⁶ Agee, 26.

¹⁵⁷ Richard T Rapp, *Industry and Economic Decline in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 133.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁵⁹ Hill, xix.

¹⁶⁰ For this and other details about the purchase of Palestrina's published masses in the late sixteenth century, see Cusick, 157-8.

1610 (24 folio pages in length) would amount to about 30 *baiocchi*, or .30 *scudi*. Even accounting for price inflation between the forty-year period of Animuccia's purchase and publication of the *Libro primo*, the average size of an *alfabeto* song print—about 30 folio pages—appears to have been within the purchasing limits of a Roman *operaio specializzato* (skilled laborer), who grossed an average monthly income of 3 *scudi* in the early *seicento*.¹⁶¹ These Venetian and Roman figures seem to agree with Richard Agee's summation of music book customer profiles in Venice during the late sixteenth century: purchases of music books whose value equals that of *alfabeto* songbooks were feasible to all but the unskilled laborer with a large family and the institutionalized poor.¹⁶² While the figures presented here are preliminary and unsatisfactory for detailing the consumer profiles of *alfabeto* song book buyers, they are helpful in considering the economic context of the price lists issued by Vincenti, in which several of his published *alfabeto* song books are inventoried.¹⁶³

Although the details of consumer transactions of *alfabeto* songs have yet to be uncovered, tracing and analyzing the publication history of the repertory serves to illustrate both the various periods of the repertory's dissemination as well as the geographical patterns of diffusion the repertory underwent after its appearance on the music publishing scene during the early 1610s. Research into the publishing history also demonstrates how both urban and provincial centers produced the printed tradition, and further describes how elements of the repertory became introduced and/or standardized as

¹⁶¹ Renato Ago, *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento* (Rome: Donzelli editore, 1998), 8-9.

¹⁶² Agee (in agreement with Tim Carter) notes that at a price of about 27 *soldi*, a set of printed part books was affordable for a large cross-section of Venetian society during the late sixteenth century. See Agee, 27. Tim Carter has also shown that at least one Florentine bookshop sold printed music to clerics, leather workers, and custom inspectors. See Carter, "Music Selling in Late Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Bookshop of Piero di Giuliano Morosi," *Music & Letters* 70 (1989), 495-96.

¹⁶³ These inventories are transcribed in Mischiati, 140-267.

the century progressed.

Chapter 4: *Alfabeto* Song Concordances

The high incidence of concordant texts among printed *alfabeto* songs presents some of the most convincing evidence for the cultivation of an *alfabeto* song tradition in the early seventeenth century. About 400 of the nearly 1,600 musical settings of poetry in *alfabeto* song prints share a text with at least one other setting in the repertory. These numbers are especially impressive considering that most of the lyrics are anonymously penned, a practice that, while not entirely foreign to other secular song publications, runs counter to an established musical tradition of pulling texts from the Italian literary canon.¹⁶⁴ For a composer such as Monteverdi, who famously chronicled the advocacy of words as the “mistress” not the “servant” of harmony, the transmission of anonymous texts would seem to undermine the composer’s unyielding reverence toward the Italian literary establishment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁶⁵ Such flourishing of anonymous “doggerel” seems inappropriate at best in an age that characterized its own madrigal poetry as “the last born child of this [Tuscan] tongue, which the divine Tasso...and most courteous Agostino Nardi, Simonetti, Guarini and others...equal or rather surpass the epigrams of the Latin poets.”¹⁶⁶

This attitude is certainly not reflected in the frequent concordances of anonymous *canzonette*, *arie*, and *scherzi* texts among *alfabeto* songbooks that flooded the printed music market of the 1610s, 20s, and 30s.¹⁶⁷ While some of these concordances, most

¹⁶⁴ Illustrated, for example, in the madrigal books of Monteverdi, which incorporate volumes of texts by Tasso, Guarini, Rinuccini, and Marino, some of which dedicate themselves to the texts of a single author (*Il quinto libro de madrigale* [Venice: Amadino, 1605], for example, employs exclusively Guarinian texts.)

¹⁶⁵ This, the credo for the *seconda prattica*, was purported as Monteverdi’s own in his brother Giulio Cesare Monteverdi’s “Dichiaratione” from Monteverdi’s *Scherzi muscali* (Venice, 1607).

¹⁶⁶ Maurizio Moro, *I tre giardini de’ madrigali* (Venice: 1602), 19. This excerpt is cited and translated in Tomlinson, 88.

¹⁶⁷ Monteverdi himself contributed three anonymous *alfabeto* songs to the repertory: “Si dolce è’l tormento,” “Ohimè ch’io cado,” and “La mia turca,” all published in Milanuzzi (1624).

notably among anthological publications, also incorporate musical material, many do not. The disproportionate number of textual concordances over musical borrowings adds to the complex and elusive nature of *alfabeto* song composition. On one hand, the high textual borrowing incidence leads to the idea that composers may have scoured *alfabeto* song publications for texts, or, in the case of non-staffed *alfabeto* songs, they might have assumed that the melody of a well-known tune could be recalled simply from its text. On the other hand, the high frequency of textual borrowing in the repertory demonstrates that composers and editors carried the knowledge to judge what types of texts were appropriate candidates for *alfabeto* inscription. Using a popular *alfabeto* song text, composers could offer their own personalized musical renditions, perhaps even in response to or in competition with earlier settings in circulation.

As in the case of the publication history of *alfabeto* song prints explored above in Chapter 3, tracing the chronology of *alfabeto* song text concordances reveals patterns that emphasize relationships among an earlier “southern” repertory and a later, more standardized “northern” repertory. These relationships are first demonstrated in the incidence of concordant texts found among the early and later repertories, with numerous cases of subsequent appearances of texts first published in Roman and Neapolitan sources (Table 11).

Table 11: *Alfabeto* song prints 1610-1616 and the incidence of their texts appearing concordantly in subsequent *alfabeto* song publications

<i>Composer (Publishing)</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Incidence of textual concordance</i>
Kapsberger (Rome, 1610/12)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>	5
Borlasca (Venice, 1611)	<i>Canzonette... libro secondo</i>	0
Montesardo (Naples, 1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>	6
Giaccio (Naples, 1613/16/18)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>	8
Various (Venice, 1613)	<i>Orfeo. Musiche de' diversi autori</i>	0
Sanseverino (Milan, 1616)	<i>El segundo libro de los ayres</i>	0
Salzilli (Naples, 1616)	<i>La sirena... libro secondo</i>	2
D'Aragona (Naples, 1616)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>	5
D'Aragona (Naples, 1616)	<i>Amorose querele</i>	11
Salzilli (Naples, 1616)	<i>Amarille... libro terzo</i>	2
Falconieri (Rome, 1616/18)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>	16
Corradi (Venice, 1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>	3

Not only do these numbers indicate the likely presence of a foundational bibliography for later *alfabeto* sources, they also represent, as a group, sources that sustained one of the highest rates of concordant incidence among single-composer *alfabeto* song prints published in the seventeenth century.

Examining the later sources that include textual concordances with pieces of the early Neapolitan prints serves to encapsulate this phenomenon in more concrete terms. The table below recounts in detail the number of *alfabeto* song prints that subsequently appropriate texts from the seven early Neapolitan *alfabeto* song prints published during the 16-teens: Girolamo Montesardo's *I lieti giorni di Napoli* (1612), Crescenzo Salzilli's *La sirena...libro secondo* (1616) and *Amarille...libro terzo* (1616), Paolo d'Aragona's *Soavi ardori* (1616) and *Amorose querele* (1616) and Orazio Giaccio's *Armoniose voci* (1613/16/18) and *Laberinto amoroso* (1618) (Table 12).

Table 12: Neapolitan *alfabeto* song sources 1612-1618 and their texts with concordances in subsequent *alfabeto* songbooks [known poets in brackets]¹⁶⁸ [* no *alfabeto*]

<i>Neapolitan source</i>	<i>Concordant text</i>	<i>Concordant source</i>
Montesardo (1612)	Chi può mirarvi Ite sosipiri miei O felice quel giorno [Francesco Lombardi] Vagheggiando le bell'onde [G. Chiabrera] Vezzasetta pastorella	D' Aragona (1616b) D' Aragona (1619b) Kapsberger (1619a) Vitali (1622) Vitali (1620) D' Aragona (1616a)
Salzilli, <i>La sirena</i> (1616)	Deh fuggit' incauti amanti Mira quel pesce mira come a l' esca	Kapsberger (1640) Olivieri (1620)
Salzilli, <i>Amarille</i> (1616)	Più non t' amo desio crudel Ama pur ninfa gradita	Milanuzzi (1630) Milanuzzi/F. Monteverdi (1624)
D' Aragona, <i>Amorose querele</i> (1616)	Fuggi fuggi dolente core [Cataneo] In questo duro scoglio Ohimè che far deggio [G. Torelli]	Romano (1618)* Robletti, ed. (1621)* Milanuzzi (1622a) Giamberti (1623) Stefani, ed. (1620)
D' Aragona, <i>Soavi ardori</i> (1616)	Ahi che morir mi sento Al fonte al prato al bosco a l' ombra [F. Cini/G. Chiabrera?] Ecco che pur al fine La mia bella pastorella Ite sospiri miei Non voglio amare per non penare Occhi belli occhi sereni	Stefani, ed. (1623) Milanuzzi/F. Monteverde (1624) Millioni (1627) Tarditi (1628) Severi (1626) Giaccio (1618) Landi (1620) ¹⁶⁹ Kapsberger (1619a) Robletti/Borboni (1622) Milanuzzi (1624) Giaccio (1618)
Giaccio, <i>Armoniose voci</i> (1613/16/18)	Donn' ingrata senz' amore Dove n' andrò dolente Dunque il mio fido amore	Stefani, ed. (1620) Sances (1636) Stefani, ed. (1618)

¹⁶⁸ Poets noted in NV and Leopold, *Al modo d'Orfeo* 2.

¹⁶⁹ "La mia cara pastorella."

	[Cataneo] Ecco l'alma mia bella [Cataneo] Non voglio amare per non penare Passò l'ardore - Amante pentito [Cattaneo]	Stefani, ed. (1623) D'Aragona (1616b) Robletti/Borboni (1622) Milanuzzi (1624) Stefani, ed. (1618)
Giaccio, <i>Laberinto amoroso</i> (1618)	Godi pur col nuovo amante	Romano (1620b)* Stefani, ed. (1620)

As this table illustrates, Neapolitan texts appear to occur most frequently in *alfabeto* song anthologies. While several of the Neapolitan source texts can be attributed to such living poets as Orazio Cataneo and Gabriello Chiabrera, sources appear to have fostered the transmission of several “standard” *alfabeto* song texts that recurrently appear throughout the repertory, including Cattaneo’s “Fuggi fuggi dolente core,” the anonymous “Ahi che morir mi sento,” and Cini/Chiabrera’s “Al fonte al prato al bosco al’ombra.”¹⁷⁰ Among these three, only “Al fonte al prato” seems to have been circulated outside of the *alfabeto* song repertory. Both “Fuggi fuggi dolente core” and “Ahi che morir mi sento” are found in non-*alfabeto* Neapolitan prints that were published before their appearance in *alfabeto* song prints; after this they are only known as *alfabeto* songs. Certainly the texts’ appearance in such popular publications as Stefani’s *Scherzi amorosi*, Milanuzzi’s *Scherzi*, and Romano’s *Raccolte*, all of which were reprinted, facilitated their popularity within the later repertory. “Non voglio amare per non penare” suggestively illustrates this point: after the anonymous poem’s initial publication in Giaccio’s *Armoniose voci*

¹⁷⁰ This text is found, among other places, in Giulio Caccini’s *Nuove musiche e nuova maniera di scriverle* (Florence: Pignoni, 1614). While Tim Carter attributes the text in Caccini’s collection to Francesco Cini, H. Wiley Hitchcock and Silke Leopold both claim anonymous authorship. See Carter, “Caccini, Giulio Romano,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (Accessed 23 March 2006). [http://www.grovemusic.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048](http://www.grovemusic.com/content.lib.utexas.edu:2048), Hitchcock, “Caccini’s ‘other’ *Nuove musiche*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27 (1974): 441, and Leopold, *Al modo d’Orfeo*, 2: 222. The editors of the *NV* cite Chiabrera’s authorship as the text appears in collections published throughout the seventeenth century including the two listed above.

(Naples, 1613/16/18), it subsequently appeared in d'Aragona's *Soavi ardori* (Naples, 1616), Robletti's *Vezzasetti fiori* (Rome, 1622), and finally Milanuzzi's *Quarto scherzo* (Venice, 1624). These examples of textual circulation among the *alfabeto* song repertory emphasize the foundational role that the early Neapolitan prints played in the dissemination of *alfabeto* songs throughout the 1620s and beyond.

Another source that chronicles the textual outcropping of early southern sources is Andrea Falconieri's *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome: Robletti, 1616/18) a collection that incurred one of the highest rates of textual outsourcing in the entire *alfabeto* song repertory (Table 13).¹⁷¹ The *Libro primo*'s influence in the *alfabeto* song repertory appears to have been felt beyond the poetic, as demonstrated by the numerous musical concordances shared between Falconieri's print and later sources (see "anthologies" below).

Table 13. Textual concordances between Falconieri's *Il primo libro di villanelle* (Rome, 1616/18) and subsequent *alfabeto* song prints

<i>Concordant text</i>	<i>Concordant source</i>
Armillà ingrata	Olivieri (Rome, 1620)
Aure vaghe, aure gioconde	Robletti, ed. (Rome, 1621a)
	Kapsberger, (Rome, 1619a)
	Rontani (Rome, 1620)
	Vitali (Rome, 1620)
E vivere, e morire	Stefani, ed. (Venice, 1618/21/23/26)
Filli vezzosa	Stefani, ed. (Venice, 1620/22)
O fronte serena	Kapsberger, (Rome, 1619)
Occhi rubelli del regno	Manzolo (Venice, 1623)
d'Amore	Severi (Rome, 1626)
Occhietti amati	Vitali (Rome, 1620)
	Millioni (Rome, 1627)
Pastorella ove t'ascondi	Crivellati (Rome, 1628)
Soccorso ahimè ben mio	Manzolo (Venice, 1623)
Spiega, spiega la vela	Kapsberger (Rome, 1619b)
nocchiero	
Vezzasette e care	Kapsberger (Rome, 1619a)

¹⁷¹ For a discussion of concordances found between Falconieri's *Libro primo* and *Libro sexto* and the manuscript tradition, see Fabris, *Andrea Falconieri Napoletano*, 76-81.

Although the circulation of Falconieri's anonymous texts was most prevalent among Roman publications, Stefani also incorporated Falconieri's text in his anthologies published by Vincenti in Venice. Falconieri, always described as "Napole[/*i*]tano" in publications of his music, seems to have been known among elite circles of the Italian court establishment, including Cardinale (Gian Carlo) de' Medici, to whom the *Libro primo* is dedicated. His associations with the courts of Parma and Mantua might have contributed to the Venetian publication of his *Musiche...libro sexto* (1619), Falconieri's second *alfabeto* songbook that also introduces texts later appropriated in *alfabeto* song collections (Table 14).

Table 14: Textual concordances among Falconieri's *Musiche...libro sexto* (Venice, 1619) and subsequent *alfabeto* song prints [* no *alfabeto*]

<i>Concordant text</i>	<i>Concordant source</i>
Al dolce mormorar	Robletti, ed. (Rome, 1621a)
Bocca ridente	Ghizzolo (Venice, 1623)
Filli ascoltami	Milanuzzi (Venice, 1624)
	Severi (Rome, 1626)
Ladra ladra d' Amore	Millioni (Rome, 1627)
Mille scherzi e canti	Robletti/Mutij (Rome, 1622)*
	Manzolo (Venice, 1623)
O fronte serena	Kapsberger (1619b)

***Alfabeto* Song Anthologies and their Concordant Sources: Millions's *Prima scielta di villanelle* (1627)**

Pietro Millions's *Prima scielta di villanelle* (Rome: Facciotti, 1627) is one of several Roman *alfabeto* song sources that do not employ musical staff notation. As seen in the *alfabeto* prints of Stefano Pesori from earlier chapters, this unique format resembles that of poetry anthologies, with the addition of *alfabeto* symbols printed above the words. Millions's print is not the first of its kind to appear in Italy; both Silke Leopold

and Roark Miller have explored Remigio Romano's five-volume *Raccolte di bellissime canzonette* (1618-1626), an enormous anthology of more than 400 poems, 43 of which are inscribed with *alfabeto*.¹⁷² The textual and musical concordances among the settings of Romano's collection and those of other musical collections have led Miller to conclude that Romano relied on printed and manuscript Venetian musical sources in assembling his printed anthologies.¹⁷³

Millioni's *Prima scelta*, while also comprising a significant number of textual concordances with other *alfabeto* sources, offers an alternative to Romano's anthologies in understanding the nature of musical/textual borrowing within the repertory. Unlike the Romano anthologies, the *Prima scelta* is truly a retrospective anthology in that all but three of Millioni's 28 concordant *alfabeto* sources were published before 1627. Table 15 lists all 28 *alfabeto* song concordances of pieces in the *Prima scelta* as well as the earliest musical source to include the concordant text.

¹⁷² Leopold, "Remigio Romano's Collection of Lyrics for Music," 45-61; and Miller, "The Chronology of Venetian Monody," 152-93.

¹⁷³ Miller, 153-54.

Table 15: Concordant texts among the contents of Millions's *Prima scelta di villanelle* (Rome, 1627), *alfabeto* song books published 1610-1660, and early musical sources

<i>Text</i>	<i>Concordant alfabeto song book</i>	<i>Earliest concordant musical source</i>
Ahi che morir mi sento	D'Aragona (1616b) Stefani, ed. (1623) Milanuzzi (1624) Tarditi (1628)	Usper, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> (Venice, 1604)
Ameriai tù mio core	Stefani, ed. (1620)	Stefani, ed. (1620)
Amor che degg'io far	Stefani, ed. (1620) Miniscalchi (1630) Camarella (1633)	Dal Pozzo, <i>Il primo libro de madrigali</i> (Venice, 1585)
Amor poi che non giovano	Colonna (1627)	Millioni/Colonna (1627)
Dov'io credea le mie speranze havere	Stefani, ed. (1618) Caccini (1618) Colonna (1627) Camarella (1633)	Falconieri, <i>Il quinto libro delle musiche</i> (Florence, 1618)
Ladra ladra d'Amore	Falconieri (1619) Manzolo (1623)	Del Negro, <i>Gl'amorosi pensieri</i> (Venice, 1607)
Non più con mesti accenti	Stefani, ed. (1623)	Borboni, <i>Musicali concenti</i> (Rome, 1618)
O begl'occhi ò belle chiome	Stefani, ed. (1618)	Stefani, ed. (1618)
O di raggi ò di fiammelle	Olivieri (1620) Robletti/Severi, (1622) - some Severi (1626)	Olivieri (1620)
O Clorida se i colli	Stefani, ed. (1618)	Stefani, ed. (1618)
Occhietti amati	Falconieri (1616) Vitali (1620)	Falconieri (1616)
Prendi deh prendi il volo	Rontani (1620a) Severi (1626)	Rontani (1620a)
Tirinto mio tu mi feristi	Stefani, ed. (1620)	Marini, <i>Arie, madrigale et correnti</i> (Venice, 1620)
Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami [Celiano]	Robletti, ed. (1621b) Vitali (1622) Guazzi (1622)* Stefani, ed. (1623)	Robletti, ed. (1621b)

* Guazzi's setting does not include *alfabeto* although it is part of a larger *alfabeto* song collection

If the concordances of Romano's anthology indicate a proclivity toward Venetian music later published in the 1620s, Milliioni's concordances present a strong tendency to borrow from older Roman and Neapolitan printed sources. The third column of the table highlights the presence of texts in earlier non-*alfabeto* song sources as well as texts that circulated specifically within the *alfabeto* song repertory. Again, the high incidence of poetic borrowing is significant given that all texts but one are unattributable. Even in the instance of this one text, "Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami" by the Sicilian poet Angelo Grillo (Levio Celiano), it is not known to have circulated outside the five *alfabeto* song books listed here.¹⁷⁴

Although the absence of melody and rhythm in Milliioni's print complicates the issue of musical concordances, a close comparison of the concordant text sources reveals strong evidence for musical borrowing. The clearest examples of musical concordance surface among the pieces in Milliioni's book that are also found in the popular anthologies of *alfabeto* songs collected by Giovanni Stefani. Published eight to ten years before Milliioni's book, Stefani's editions have been noted for their associations with the Roman court of Cardinal Montalto as well as early seventeenth century Florentine manuscripts.¹⁷⁵ As seen in the examples below, the musical similarities between Milliioni's and Stefani's setting of "Tirinto mio, tu feristi" are illustrated not only by the choice of key and chord sequence, but also by their identical placement of *alfabeto* symbols with corresponding word syllables, noted especially at cadences (Examples 12 and 13).

¹⁷⁴ The editors of the *NV* identify Celiano as the author of this text, although it is unclear whether or not the attribution is made in corresponding music prints. The text is missing in Durante's indices of Grillo's poetry. See Elio Durante and Anna Martellotti, *Don Angelo Grillo O.S.B. alias Livio Celiano. Poeta per musica del secolo decimosesto* (Florence: Studio per edizione scelte, 1989).

¹⁷⁵ Hill, 165-66.

Example 12: Millions, “Tirinto mio tu mi feristi,” *Prima scielta di villanelle* (Rome, 1627)

<i>Original</i>	<i>Alfabeto transcription using modern chord symbols¹⁷⁶</i>
O H O L C	g B ^b g c D
Tirinto mio, tu mi feristi	Tirinto mio, tu mi feristi
G O L C O	F g c D g
Di tal ferita ch’io ne morrò	Di tal ferita ch’io ne morrò
C A G H B G	D G F B ^b C F
Tu’l petto è’l core crudel m’aspristi,	Tu’l petto è’l core crudel m’aspristi,
G H M G H	F B ^b E ^b F B ^b
Che mai salute non spererò	Che mai salute non spererò
G O L O C O	F g c g D g
Che mai salute non spererò	Che mai salute non spererò

¹⁷⁶ Capital letters indicate major chords (D = D major triad); lower-case letters indicate minor chords (g = g minor triad)

Example 13. Stefani, “Tirinto mio tu mi feristi,” *Scherzi amorosi* (Venice, 1622)

The image displays a musical score for a piece by Stefani. It consists of three systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The lyrics are written below the staves, and the *alfabeto* symbols are placed above the lyrics. The first system has the lyrics "Ti-rin-to mi - o tù mi fe - ri - sti Di tal fe - ri - tach'io ne mor - rò" and the *alfabeto* symbols "O D H D O M C D O G M B C A". The second system has the lyrics "Tù'l pet - to'l co - re cru - del m'ap - ris - ti Che mai sa -" and the *alfabeto* symbols "C 5 A G H B G A D". The third system has the lyrics "lu - te non spe - re - rò Che mai sa - lu - te non spe - re - rò" and the *alfabeto* symbols "H M G H B C M G O B C A".

Most striking in Millions’s version, as in all the pieces in the *Prima scielta*, is the attention given to the placement of the *alfabeto* symbols above the text. If the symbols were arranged in a more haphazard fashion, the link to Stefani’s setting would be less certain. The correspondence of the *alfabeto* placement is especially apparent at the cadence points “morrò” and “spererò” where Millions, following Stefani’s version, is careful to inscribe the *alfabeto* over the final truncated syllable of both words. While the added chords and cadential tonic chords with raised thirds that characterize Stefani’s setting present a more harmonically varied version, this does not diminish the clear musical correlation between the two versions.

The musical concordance between pieces in Millions’s and Stefani’s books is further illustrated in the two settings of “Non più con mesti accenti.” By extracting the text and *alfabeto* symbol placement from Stefani’s scored version, it is possible to

compare the two versions according to Millions's format, perhaps more convincingly portraying the musical affinity between the settings (Examples 14 and 15).

Example 14: Stefani, "Non più con mest'accenti," *Concerti amorosi* (Venice, 1623), with text and *alfabeto* extracted

<i>Original</i>	<i>Alfabeto transcription using modern chord symbols</i>
O D H G O C	g a B ^b F g D
Non più con mest'accenti	Non più con mest'accenti
D O C A	a g D G
Io narerò mia fè	Io narerò mia fè
G H B G	F B ^b C F
Pianget'occhi dolenti	Pianget'occhi dolenti
O H M G H	gB ^b E ^b F B ^b
Parlate voi per me	Parlate voi per me
A BMB C A	G CcC D G
Piangete voi per mè	Piangete voi per mè

Example 15: Millions, "Non più con mesti accenti," *Prima scelta di villanelle* (Rome, 1627)

<i>Original</i>	<i>Alfabeto transcription using modern chord symbols</i>
O C A G	g D G F
Non più con mesti accenti	Non più con mesti accenti
O L C	g g D
Io narrerò mia fè,	Io narrerò mia fè,
G B G	F C F
Piangete occhi dolenti	Piangete occhi dolenti
H M G H	B ^b E ^b F B ^b
Parlate voi per me,	Parlate voi per me,
B L C O	C c D g
Parlate voi per me	Parlate voi per me

Millions's print continues to display unmistakable musical references to Stefani's anthologies in the setting of "O Clorida," the abbreviated title of a poem that appears to

have been known under various textual guises.¹⁷⁷ A comparison of Millions's and Stefani's lyrics shows that although different words comprise the strophes, the meter and versification of the two poems are identical:

Example 16: Comparison of the opening strophes of Millions's and Stefani's setting of "O Clorida"

<i>Millioni</i>	<i>Meter / Versification</i>		<i>Stefani</i>
	<i>(Millioni)</i>	<i>(Stefani)</i>	
O Clorida	4	4	O Clorida
Se i colli in infiorano	5 sdrucchiolo	5 sdrucchiolo	Già che s'adernano
E s'namorano	5 sdrucchiolo	5 sdrucchiolo	I prati e tornano
Le piante ogn'hor	5 tronco	5 tronco	Più lieti i dì
Richissima d'ogni beltà	9 tronco	9 tronco	Deh, rigida hor perchè tu
M'ardi dolcissima	5 sdrucchiolo	5 sdrucchiolo	Qual neve frigida
Senza pietà	5 tronco	5 tronco	T'induri più?

Their musical kinship, while indisputable, also demonstrates some independence on the composers' part. Millions's setting appears have softened the key of Stefani's version from *quadro* to *molle* (to use the terminology of the repertory), noted by the opening O chord (g minor) and the C chords (D major) at the beginning of the second section on the words "Richissima d'ogni beltà." As seen in previous (and later) examples, interchange between hard and soft chords on the same tone appears with great flexibility in this repertory and adds a noticeable improvisational element to the harmonic structure of the songs. This does not detract, however, from our observation of the identical musical treatment of the two texts presented by the composers:

¹⁷⁷ None of the lyrics of Millions's and Stefani's strophes match for "O Clorida," although their meter and versification are identical, as shown above.

Example 17: Stefani, “O Clorida, già che s’adernano,” *Affetti amorosi* (Venice, 1618)

Example 18: Millions and Stefani, “O Clorida”

<i>Millioni (original)</i>	<i>Stefani (alfabeto extracted from above)</i>
O	A
O Clorida	O Clorida
D A B A	B A D A
Se i colli in infiorano	Già che s’adernano
B C A B	B D A
E s’inamorano	I prati e tornano
C A	C A
Le piante ogn’hor	Più lieti i dì
C I C	E I E
Richissima d’ogni beltà	Deh, rigida hor per ché tu
A B	B A B E A
M’ardi dolcissima	Qual neve frigida
C A	B C A
Senza pietà	T’induri più?

Evidence that Millions modeled his compositions on earlier *alfabeto* song prints is further shown by the *Prima scielta*’s musical and textual references to pieces in the *Libro primo di villanella* (Rome, 1616) and *Musiche...libro sexto* (Florence, 1612) by the Neapolitan composer and guitarist Andrea Falconieri. In Millions’ setting of “Occhietti amanti,” the *alfabeto* sequence and placement is virtually identical to Falconieri’s

handling of the text. Even without reference to melody or bass, the *alfabeto* harmony in
Millioni's song introduces unmistakable musical parallels to Falconieri's print:

Example 19: Falconieri, "Occhieti amanti," *Libro primo di villanella* (Rome, 1616)

e b g o b g b

Oc - chiet - ti'am - an - ti Che m'in - cen - de - te Per che spie -

The first system of the musical score is in 3/2 time, featuring a treble and bass staff. The melody is in G minor. The lyrics are: 'Oc - chiet - ti'am - an - ti Che m'in - cen - de - te Per che spie -'. The notes are: G4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), A4 (half), G4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (half).

g a b b d

ta - ti Om - ai più sie - te Splen - din' se -

The second system continues the melody. The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), D5 (half). The lyrics are: 'ta - ti Om - ai più sie - te Splen - din' se -'. The bass staff has a whole note G3 and a half note F#3.

g c a b g

re - ni Di gio - ia pie - ni Splen - din' se - re - ni Di

The third system continues the melody. The notes are: G4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (half). The lyrics are: 're - ni Di gio - ia pie - ni Splen - din' se - re - ni Di'. The bass staff has a whole note G3 and a half note F#3.

b g g b

gio - ia pie - ni Vos - tri splen - do - ri

The fourth system continues the melody. The notes are: B4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (half). The lyrics are: 'gio - ia pie - ni Vos - tri splen - do - ri'. The bass staff has a whole note G3 and a half note F#3.

e h i i c

Fiam - - - me dei co - ri

The fifth system concludes the piece. The notes are: E5 (quarter), D5 (quarter), C5 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), F#4 (half). The lyrics are: 'Fiam - - - me dei co - ri'. The bass staff has a whole note G3 and a half note F#3. The piece ends with a double bar line.

Example 20: Millions and Falconieri, “Occhietti amanti”

<i>Millioni (original)</i>	<i>Falconieri (alfabeto extracted from above)</i>
E B G	e b g
Occhietti amanti	Occhietti amanti
B G A B	o b g
Che m’accidere	Che m’incendete
B G B E	b g
Perche spietati	Perche spietati
I C	a b
Ver me più fete	Omai più siete
B A B	b d g
Splendin sereni	Splendin’ sereni
C A	c a
Di gioia pieni	Di gioia pieni
B A B	b g
Splendin sereni	Splendin’ sereni
H B G	b g
Di gioia pieni	Di gioia pieni
B	g b
Vostri splendori	Vostri splendori
E H I E	e h i i c
Fiamme de cori	Fiamme dei cori

Millioni continued to rely on *alfabeto* song publications printed in Rome in compiling his *Prima scelta*, noted by the inclusion of Francesco Severi’s “Prendi, deh!” from the *Arie...libro primo*, printed by Paolo Masotti in 1626. Severi, a *castrato* employed by the Papal choir and Cardinal Scipione Borghese, continued to articulate in the preface to his *Arie* a penchant for composing in the manner of Roman singing (“il modo di cantar alla Romana”) as first communicated in his *Salmi passaggiati* of 1615. This locally defined practice according to Severi comprises:

passaggi, trilli, ed altro restarà pienamente sodifatto con far capitale de gl’avvertimenti intorno a questo dati da me in quella medesima opera de salmi. ¹⁷⁸	<i>passaggi, trilli</i> , and others will be fully satisfied, if one takes advantage of the notes that begin my aforementioned psalm settings.
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¹⁷⁸ Francesco Severi, *Salmi passaggiati* (Rome: Borboni, 1615).

As the contents of Severi's *Arie* are known only through Oscar Chilesotti's incomplete transcription of 1909, it is difficult to conclude whether or not Severi expected the readers of his print to improvise embellishment *alla Romana*. From the group assembled in Chilesotti's collection (all with *alfabeto*), only one song ("O di raggi, o di fiammelle") notates melodic elaboration. The rest are plainly executed with little or no reference to the embellished figuration witnessed in the *Salmi passaggiati*, suggesting that Severi expected performers to implement the Roman improvisational model. Such a practice may have been a strong motivation for Millionini to include Severi's "Prendi, deh!" among his collection of *alfabeto* songs. With the absence of melody and rhythm altogether, singers who performed from Millionini's print were forced to create spontaneous musical ideas based on Severi's chord progression, whether traces/elaborations of a well-known tune (perhaps Severi's), or entirely newly composed melodies:

<i>Millioni</i>	<i>Severi</i>
G B G	G H B G
Prendi deh prendi il volo	Prendi, deh! Prendi'l volo
G B G	O L C A
Leggiadra Aurette;	Leggiadr'auretta
B	B
Verso la fera	Verso la fera
A C A	G B E B A B
Megera che mi saetta,	Megera che mi saetta
G H	B G B G B E I
Verso la maga che vaga,	Verso la maga ch'è vaga
M G H	C A B G
Verso la maga che vaga del mio gran duolo	Del mio gran duolo,
G B G	H B G
O prendi prendi deh prendi il volo	Prendi, deh! Prend'il volo

Example 22: Transcription of Severi, “Prendi, deh!”

G H B G O L C A B G B E B

Pren-di, deh! pren di'l vo-lo, leg-gia-dr'au-ret-ta Ver-so la fe-ra me-ge-ra che mi sa-

A B B G B G B E I C A B G H B G

et-ta Ver-so la ma-ga ch'è va-ga del mio gran duo-lo, pren-di, deh! pre-nd'il vo-lo

These examples have shown that *alfabeto* song textual and musical concordances figure significantly not only in the anthologies of Remigio Romano and later Venetian prints, but also in the Roman orbit of Pietro Millioni and his *Prima scielta*. The questions of attribution in Millioni's book are important to raise because they illustrate the lack of concern for compositional attribution that surface in many *alfabeto* song anthologies. Scholars elsewhere have relegated similar cases of hidden authorship to plagiarism.¹⁷⁹ On the surface, Millioni's print appears to be simply what it is advertised to be: a *scielta di villanelle* = a choice [selection] of villanellas, a kind of “greatest hits” collection of some of the most popular tunes in circulation. Of further importance, the greatest hits emanate from sources with provenance south of the north Italian court and urban environs, with many textual concordances found among early Neapolitan *alfabeto* song sources.

Giovanni Stefani

The *alfabeto* song anthology was also a major vehicle for publication for the music editor/promoter/composer Giovanni Stefani. Little is known about Stefani other than what can be gathered from the title pages and dedications of his editions. He seems

¹⁷⁹ See Miller, "The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano," 155-6.

to have been recognized as a competent music editor, having been sponsored by a number of patrons in assembling his *alfabeto* song anthologies. While Miller has noted the textual concordances of Stefani's editions with the anthologies of Romano, Hill has demonstrated Stefani's musical concordances with manuscripts associated with the Montalto court in Rome, including pieces by the Roman composers Ottavio Catalani, Giuseppe Cenci, and Raffaello Rontani.¹⁸⁰ The popularity of—and evident demand for—Stefani's anthologies can be determined by the number of subsequent textual concordances found in later *alfabeto* prints, the number reprinted editions, and also in their advertisement in the catalog inventories of Alessandro Vincenti, a fact that served as the basis for Pitoni's mistaken claim that Stefani authored his musical editions.¹⁸¹

Miller, based on the textual concordances among Stefani's and Romano's editions as well as the close proximity of their publication dates, has suggested that the two editors may have relied on each other's compilations in preparing their anthologies for print.¹⁸² The musical and textual concordances among Stefani's editions and the wider repertory of *alfabeto* songs may suggest that Stefani was familiar with early Neapolitan and Roman *alfabeto* song prints, and may have even used these sources in compiling his own anthologies. All of Stefani's *alfabeto* song anthologies were printed and subsequently reprinted in Venice by Vincenti, suggesting, perhaps, that Vincenti was enthusiastic about publishing anthologies of music that had gained earlier appeal outside of Venice. Stefani compiled four *alfabeto* song anthologies (his only known publications), two of which are today extant in their printed form (*Scherzi amorosi*

¹⁸⁰ Hill, 165.

¹⁸¹ Giovanni Ottavio Pitoni, *Notitia de' contrapuntisti e compositore di musica* (ca. 1725), ed. Cesarino Ruini (Florence: Olschki, 1988), 259.

¹⁸² Miller, "Stefani, Giovanni," *The New Grove Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 12 June 2006) <<https://www.grovemusic.com.content.lib.texas.edu:2048>>

[1620/22] and *Concerti amorosi* [1623/23]); the *Affetti amorosi* (1618/21/23/26) is known only through Oscar Chilesotti's 1886 transcription of the 1621 edition; the *Ariette amoroze*, mentioned by Fétis and possibly acknowledged as Stefani's *Libro 4^o* in Vincenti's 1649 catalog index, is non-extant.¹⁸³ As with Millionini's *Prima scielta*, Stefani's anthologies are largely retrospective (although there are a number of later concordant sources) whereas Romano's anthologies typically cite pieces that appear in prints after the initial publication date. Table 16 below lists the textual concordances between Stefani's anthologies and the wider repertory of *alfabeto* song prints that were published before the date of Stefani's first edition.

¹⁸³ François-Joseph Fétis, "Stefani, Giovanni," *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* vol. 8 (Brussels, 1835-44), 115.

Table 16: Textual concordances among Stefani's *alfabeto* song anthologies and the wider printed repertory of *alfabeto* songbooks published prior to Stefani's first edition [* no *alfabeto*]

<i>Anthology (Stefani)</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Concordant alfabeto sources</i>
<i>Affetti amorosi</i> (1618/21/23/26)	Deh Filli vientene - <i>Beltà di Filli</i>	Kapsberger (1619b) ¹⁸⁴
	Dov'io credea le mie speranze havere - <i>Amante tradito</i>	Caccini (1618)*
	Dunque il mio fido amore - <i>Amante tradito</i> [Cataneo]	Giaccio (1613)
	E vivere e morire - <i>Scherzi d'amanti</i>	Falconieri (1616)
<i>Scherzi amorosi</i> ¹⁸⁵ (1620/22)	Alma mia dove ten vai - <i>Partita di Donna amata</i> [Rinuccini]	Kapsberger (1619b) Rontani (1620)
	Donna ingrata senz'amore - <i>Amor sventurato</i>	Giaccio (1613)*
	Filli vezzosa- <i>Pietà bramata</i>	Falconieri (1616)
	Gioite gioite di mille tormenti - <i>Amante</i>	Kapsberger (1619)
	Godi pur col nuovo amante - <i>Amante sdegnato</i>	Giaccio (1618)
	Ohimè che far deggio - <i>Breve contento d'Amante abbandonato</i> [Torelli]	D'Aragona, (1616a)
	Passò l'ardore e vivo in festa - <i>Amante dispietoso pentito</i> [Cataneo]	Giaccio (1613)
	Quien menoscaba mis	Romano (1620b)

¹⁸⁴ Although Kapsberger's *Libro secondo di Villanelle* was published in 1619 (the year following *Affetti amorosi*'s initial appearance in print), there exists no copy of Stefani's 1618 print, and thus there is no way of knowing if Kapsberger culled the text from Stefani's 1618 print, or if Stefani became inspired by Falconieri's version for a later edition. Their close musical similarities (discussed below) stress the likelihood of either scenario.

¹⁸⁵ In the dedication to the 1620 reprint, Stefani states: "l'Anno passate diedi in luce un'Operetta intitolata Affetti Amorosi," leading Miller to deduce that the *Scherzi amorosi* was first published in 1619, one year after the *Affetti amorosi* of 1618. Miller, "The Composers of San Marco," 180). The list here includes concordant sources published up until the year of the earliest extant edition of the *Scherzi amorosi* (1620), so as not to assume that the contents of the first edition match those of the second (or later) edition(s).

	benes? - <i>Pruebas de Amor extrañas</i>	
	Suspiri miei che d'havra in hura siti - <i>Arie per cantar ottave Siciliane - Amoroso querelle</i>	Romano (1620b)
<i>Concerti amorosi</i> (1623/23)	Ahi che morir mi sento - <i>Amante che chiede aita</i>	D'Aragona (1616b)
	Ecco l'alma mia bella - <i>Disuasione ad amare</i>	Giaccio (1613)
	Ferma ferma non pecottere - <i>Dolce sonno</i>	Robletti, (1621a)
	Non è mercede - <i>Donna Crudele</i>	Rontani (1620)
	Pianget'occhi piangete - <i>Tradita bellezza</i>	Veneri (1621) Robletti/Rontani (1621a)
	Pupillette vezzosette - <i>Occhi oggetto del core</i>	Veneri (1621)
	S'alcun vi giura - <i>Libertà catenata</i>	Vitali (1620)
	Tu non hai provato Amore - <i>Esperienza amorosa</i>	Olivieri (1620)
	Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami - <i>Amorosa querela</i>	Robletti/Catalani (1621b) Vitali (1622)
	[Celiano]	

The *alfabeto* song source that Stefani recalled most frequently in his anthologies is Orazio Giaccio's *Armoniose voci*, a popular book of three-voice *canzonette* first published in 1613 in Naples, where it was subsequently reprinted in 1616 and 1618. The similar thematic titling of individual settings in the two collections suggests that Stefani may have simply lifted them from Giaccio's collection. This is especially apparent in "Donna ingrata senz'amore" and "Dunque il mio fido amore," where the titles "Amante sventurato" and "Tradito amante" of Giaccio's settings appear more or less verbatim in Stefani's print.

Stefani also relied on Kapsberger's second and third books of *Villanelle* (both published in Rome in 1619) in assembling his anthologies, adopting similar texts and

music in all three cases of concordance. Although Kapsberger's authorship of "Deh Filli videntene" and "Gioite gioite di mille tormenti" in Stefani's collections has been addressed elsewhere, the musical/textual similarities among Kapsberger's and Stefani's setting of "Alma mia dove ten vai" have been overlooked. A comparison of the two settings demonstrates that Stefani's *folia* bass pattern suggests a paraphrased version of Kapsberger's bass (Example 23). The correspondence is further illustrated by the *alfabeto* sequences, which agree at key cadences. The musical relationships are not as evident here as they are in the other two examples of concordances provided above, but they reveal a kinship that surpasses coincidence, especially considering that Stefani lifted material from the same source.

Example 23a: Bass line and *alfabeto* of "Alma mia dove te'n vai" from Kapsberger, *Libro terzo di villanelle* (Rome, 1619)



Example 23b: Bass line and *alfabeto* of "Alma mia dove te'n vai" from Stefani, *Scherzi amorosi* (Venice, 1620/22)



A more concrete example of Stefani's musical borrowing is found in a comparison of "E viver e morire" from the *Affetti amorosi* and a setting of the same text in Falconieri's *Libro primo di villanelle*. At first glance, the settings appear to have little in common apart from the key signature and the text. The phrasing, text setting, and *alfabeto* sequence seem distantly related at best and the scoring differences mark a discernable textural contrast. An unmistakable concordant passage, however, appears in

the middle of the two settings at the phrase beginning “quando mi vedi.” The similarities are noted especially in the sequencing melodic line (the top voice in Falconieri), the *alfabeto* sequence, and the text setting:

Example 24: Stefani, “E viver e morire,” *Affetti amorosi* (Venice, 1618)¹⁸⁶

Example 24 shows a musical setting by Giovanni Stefani. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has lyrics: "Qua - ndo mi ve - di mi ri - di, mi fug - gi, mi strug - gi, Mi pri - vi d'ar -". The second system has lyrics: "di - re E poi mi dai mar - ti - re Quan - do fin -". Above the notes are letters: H, G, O, G, B, E, B in the first system, and B, G, I, G, O, I, C in the second system.

Example 25: Falconieri, “E viver, e morire,” *Libro primo di villanelle* (Rome, 1616)

Example 25 shows a musical setting by Giovanni Falconieri. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of music. The first system has lyrics: "Quan - do mi ve - di, mi ri - di, mi fug - gi, mi strug - gi, mi pri - vi d'ar -". The second system has lyrics: "di - re E poi mi dai mar - ti - re". Above the notes are letters: h, g, o, c, h in the first system, and c, a, o, c, m, c in the second system.

This clear, though “hidden,” reference to Falconieri is not altogether surprising considering that Stefani demonstrates elsewhere a familiarity with Roman, Florentine,

¹⁸⁶ *Alfabeto* based on Chilesotti’s transcription in Giovanni Stefani, “*Affetti amorosi*” ed. Oscar Chilesotti, *Biblioteca di rarita musicale* 3 (Milan: Ricordi, ca. 1915).

and Neapolitan sources. Falconieri's trace also suggests that prints and manuscripts may have been used in conjunction with oral sources in Stefani's preparation of his anthologies.

A final and indisputable printed *alfabeto* source for Stefani and his anthologies is Robletti's anthology *Raccolta di varii concerti musicali*, printed in Rome in 1621. The concordant source in question, "Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami", with a text by Levio Celiano (pseudonym for Don Angelo Grillo), is attributed to the Sicilian/Roman composer Ottavio Catalani in the manuscript CC.225 housed in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna.¹⁸⁷ Robletti's and Stefani's versions, apart from a few discrepancies in the *alfabeto* sequence, are virtually identical:

¹⁸⁷ Hill, 388.

Example 26: Stefani/Catalani, “Voi mi dite ch’io non v’ami,” *Concerti amorosi* (Venice, 1623)

O L C H G H E D H G
Voi mi di - te ch'io non v'a - mi Ma non di - te

O I C O D H B E + G
s'io pot - rò Voi sdeg - na - to ch'io vi bra - mi

H I H O I C E B H D H B
Cru - de legg - e'on - d'io mor - rò La mia vi - ta fug - gi -

G A L A B
rò Las - cia - rò quei dol - ci ra - i

O L C A
Non sa - rà pos - si - bil ma - i

Example 27: Robletti/Catalani, “Voi mi dico ch’io non v’ami,” *Raccolta* (Rome, 1621)

The musical score is written for a single voice in 3/2 time. It consists of four systems of music. Each system has a treble staff with a vocal line and a bass staff with a basso continuo line. The lyrics are in Italian, and the vocal line includes solfège syllables (o, l, c, h, g, h, e, d, h, i, e, o, d, h, b, c, x, g, h) above the notes. The lyrics are: "Voi mi di - co ch'io non v'a - mi Ma non di - co s'io pot - rò Voi sdeg - na - to ch'io vi bra - mi Cru - da legg - e'on - d'io mor - rò La mia vi - ta fug - gi - rò Las - cia - rò quel dol - ci ra - i Non sa - rà pos - si - bil ma - i". The score ends with a double bar line and repeat signs.

The popularity of Stefani’s anthologies, noted first and foremost in the number of reprints circulating throughout the 1620s, is likewise noted in the cases of musical and textual concordances in publications issued after the original appearance of the anthologies in print:

Table 17: Textual concordances located in Stefani's anthologies and subsequent *alfabeto* song sources¹⁸⁸

<i>Stefani Collection / Title</i>	<i>Concordant source</i>
<i>Affetti amorosi</i> (1618)	
Dov'io credea le mie speranze havere – <i>Amante tradito</i>	Colonna (1627)
O begl'occhi o belle chiome – <i>Vaneggiamenti amorosi</i>	Millioni (1627)
O Clorida / Già che s'adornano - <i>Donna ritrosa</i>	Millioni (1627)
<i>Scherzi amorosi</i> (1620)	
Ameriai tù mio core - <i>Sdegno amoroso</i>	Millioni (1627)
Amor che deggio far – <i>Amor penoso</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)
Gioite gioite	Camarella (1633)
Giovanetta vezzosa – <i>Fugasi amore</i>	Severi (1626)
	Valvasensi (1634)
	Romano (1620b)
	Fasolo (1627)
Quien menoscaba mis benes? – <i>Pruebas de Amor estrañas</i>	Romano (1620)b
Suspiri miei che d'havra in hura siti – <i>Arie per cantare ottave Siciliane – Amorse querele</i>	Romano (1620b)
Tirinto mio tù mi feristi - <i>Ninfa abbandonata</i>	Millioni (1627)
<i>Concerti amorosi</i> (1623)	
Ahi che morir mi sento - <i>Amante che chiede aita</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)
Amarillide deh vieni	Millioni (1627)
Già t'è noto crudel ch'hormai son morto - <i>Servitù non gradita</i>	Landi (1627)
Non più con mesti accenti - <i>Pianto amoroso</i>	Millioni (1627)
Quanto più cruda sete - <i>Pietosa fierezza</i>	Crivellati (1628)

Stefani's and Millions's later musical concordances have already been noted above; to this list one can add the three settings from Romano's *Terza raccolta*, "Giovanetta

¹⁸⁸ Not including the great number of concordances found in Romano's anthologies without *alfabeto*. For these figures, see Miller, "The Composers of San Marco", 177.

vezzosa”, “Quien menoscaba mis benes?,” and” Suspiri miei che d’havra in hura siti,” which are more or less identical versions of the same tunes. Other concordances contain strong musical resonance with one another, although troping and tracing—as witnessed in Falconieri’s “E vivere e morire”—figure in several cases. This can be seen in Stefani’s and Crivellati’s settings of “Quanto più cruda sete”:

Example 28: Stefani, *Concerti amorosi* (Venice, 1623) “Quanto più cruda sete”

Example 28: Stefani, *Concerti amorosi* (Venice, 1623) “Quanto più cruda sete”

Example 29: Crivellati, *Cantate diverse* (Rome, 1628) “Quanto più cruda sede”

Example 29: Crivellati, *Cantate diverse* (Rome, 1628) “Quanto più cruda sede”

Based on the *alfabeto* and bass sequences alone, the settings do share similar musical traits, noted for example in the cadences at “più vi sarò fedele” and “e gloria mia”, the shift to a Bb center in the b section of the tunes (signaled by the E flats and the cadence in m. 8 of both settings), and the F centrality that governs both settings. Consideration of *alfabeto*, bass, and melody, however, points to a kinship that surpasses coincidental resemblance. These moments of true concordance appear at the phrases marked with brackets, on the words “più vi sarò fedele”, “dunque non sia le mai cortese e pia”, and “e gloria mia”, confirming the earlier observation of concordance based on *alfabeto* and bass. While the surrounding phrases reveal other “trace” moments of correspondence (note for example Crivellati’s embellished version of Stefani’s phrase “donna alle mie querele”), these unmistakable points of relation—not to mention the shared texts—present a “modular” approach to composition, based not on through-composed originality, but on the “troping” of specific musical gestures that correspond to certain textual phrases.

This compositional approach also figures in a comparison between Stefani’s and Francesco Monteverdi’s setting of “Ahi che morir mi sento”, a popular *alfabeto* song text that also appeared in D’Aragona’s *Soavi ardori* (1616), Millioni’s *Prima scelta* (1627), and Tarditi’s *Amorosa schiera* (1628). As the transcriptions of the settings illustrate below, both the text and music of this song seemed to have circulated among the *alfabeto* song repertory:

Example 30: Stefani, *Concerti amorosi* (Venice, 1623), “Ahi che morir mi sento”

H B C O C A B A B H G

Ahi che mor-ir mi sen-t'o t'ù che se - i Ca - gion de dol - or mi - ei Ti cu-ri po - co del

8 O C O H O I C O C

mio gran fuo - co An - zi'hai con - ten - to del mio tor - men - to O'in - gra - ta'e

13 B A B H G L C A

tra - di - to - ra Non con - sent - ir che per am - art' - io mo - ra.

Example 31: Milanuzzi/F. Monteverdi, *Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (Venice, 1624), “Ahi che morir mi sento”

H G H G A O B G H G

Ahi che mor-ir mi sen - to E t'ù che sei Ca - gion de dol - or mi - ei Ti cu-ri po - co Del

7 O C O H I C H G

mio gran fo - co An - zi'hai con - ten - to Del mio tor - men - to O in - gra - ta O

11 O C H D O G L C A

Tra - di - to - ra Non con - sen - tir Che per am - ar - ti'io mo - ra.

As with the previous examples, the two settings, based on *alfabeto* and bass alone, appear distantly related at first glance, with the exception of the phrase “ti curi poco del mio gran f(u)oco”. The melody of the two settings at this point, however, confirms with the bass and *alfabeto* that here again is an indisputable case of true concordance.

The issues of attribution raised by these examples not only question traditional assumptions about compositional authority in the seventeenth century, but more importantly, they shed light on what kinds of strategies composers and editors felt compelled to adopt when assembling *alfabeto* songs. The above represents only a fraction of what may have been a widespread practice of quoting and borrowing existing musical segments, since the task of organizing musical concordances in sources without textual affinities is beyond the scope of this project. Other examples of modular composition appear outside Stefani's anthologies, such as Milanuzzi's and Ghizzolo's settings of "Hor che l'Alba lampeggia", where the musical concordance lies not so much in melodic lines and *alfabeto*, but in form and structure:

Example 32: Ghizzolo, *Frutti d'amore...libro quinto* (Venice, 1623) "Hor che l'Alba lampeggia"

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with three staves (treble, alto, and bass clef). The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). Above the staves, solfège notation (G, A, B, C, D, E, F) is used to indicate pitch. The lyrics are written below the staves, with hyphens indicating syllables that span across measures. The first system covers measures 1 through 5, the second system covers measures 6 through 9, and the third system covers measures 10 through 13. The score concludes with a double bar line and repeat signs.

System 1 (Measures 1-5):

Solfège: G G H B C O B G A B G O

Lyrics: Horchel'Al-ba lam-peg-gia E ros seg-giaConsuoi splen-do - ri Dhe vie - ni'o

System 2 (Measures 6-9):

Solfège: 6 M G O D H B

Lyrics: Clo - ri Lasc - iam gli'arm - en - ti Che fra tor - men - ti Lasc - iam gl'arm - men - ti Che fra tor - men - ti Pas - can -

System 3 (Measures 10-13):

Solfège: 10 O G B G

Lyrics: Pas - can - d'in - tor - no L'her - bet - te cre - scen - ti d'in - tor - no L'her - bet - te cre - scen - ti

Example 33: Milanuzzi, *Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze* (Venice, 1624) “Hor che l’Alba lampeggia”

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a vocal melody line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The key signature has one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 3/4. Chord symbols (A, B, C, D, G, I) are placed above the vocal line. The lyrics are written below the vocal line, with hyphens indicating syllables spanning across notes.

System 1: Chords A, D, A, C, A, B, G, A, B, A, I, C, A, C, A, C. Lyrics: Hor che l'Al-ba lam-peg-gia E ros-seg-gia Con suoi splen-do-ri Dhe vien-i'o Clo-ri Lasc-

System 2: Chords A, I, C, C, I, C, I, C, F. Lyrics: iam gl'Ar-men-ti Che frà tor-ren-ti Pas-con-d'in-

System 3: Chords D, A, G, A, B. Lyrics: tor-no A lor sog-gior-no

System 4: Chords G, A, B, C, A. Lyrics: L'her-bet-te cre-scen-ti

The striking text setting similarities between these two versions leads to the inevitable conclusion that some version of “Hor che l’Alba lampeggia” was in circulation at the time one or both of these settings appeared in print. While both composers can equally claim authorship, the stark musical affinity of the two settings reinforces the Chilesottian premise that an unwritten version of the tune might have fostered the noticeable similarities between Ghizzolo’s and Milanuzzi’s versions. Much like the processes of circulation surrounding *Millioni*’s concordant sources, the pervasively aural context of *alfabeto* songs could have prompted the similar musical traces found in these two versions of “Hor che l’Alba lampeggia”.

In exploring the musical and textual correspondences among Stefani's "anonymous" *alfabeto* song anthologies, it appears that the editor was familiar with the texts and music from *alfabeto* song sources published in Rome and Naples during the 1610s, and further, that the popularity of his anthologies may have triggered the appearance of many texts and musical phrases from Stefani's collection in later published sources. Thus, despite the claims that Stefani's sources are elusive, the concordant texts with similar music indicate that indeed Stefani borrowed material from earlier publications with tunes grounded in more southern traditions.¹⁸⁹ At the same time, Stefani's later concordances allude to a modular approach to *alfabeto* song composition that is also present in other concordant sources throughout the repertory.

¹⁸⁹ Miller, 180.

Chapter 5: *Alfabeto* Song as a Musical Symbol of Naples and the Italian South

Alfabeto songs were not simply alternatives to other established musical practices of the day, they presented opportunities for composers and performers to invent and extemporize in meaningful ways. The songs without musical staff notation, in particular, convey the great sense of musical freedom that musicians undoubtedly applied to their performances. They capture an improvisational spirit that appears absent from contemporaneous musical publications that became increasingly concerned with contriving and dictating musical taste through the intricacies of musical notation. William Porter has characterized the “compositional” control of early modern solo songwriters such as Caccini and d’India—musicians who went to great lengths to explicate musical elaboration and artifice—as “frozen improvisation.”¹⁹⁰ The regular presence of such improvisational arias as the *siciliana* and *romanesca* in the *alfabeto* song repertory, many in their texted form only, preserve the practice of “*cantare per arie*”, the improvisational singing of texts based on standard poetic forms. While the system of *alfabeto* intabulation was ostensibly originally designed for amateur guitarists, the vocal practice implied from unstaffed *alfabeto* songs requires a level of musical sensitivity beyond that of simply “reading the notes.” Even in their notated form, rarely do they convey the visual sense of artifice that characterizes a great deal of the vocal and instrumental music prints of the early to mid seventeenth century.

To this extent, the *alfabeto* song tradition articulates a certain level of suspicion toward the more elite and sophisticated means of notating musical ideas, such as the solo

¹⁹⁰ William Vernon Porter, “The Origins of the Baroque Solo Song: A Study of Italian Manuscripts and Prints from 1590-1610,” Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1962, 23.

madrigals of Caccini and D'India or the keyboard works of Frescobaldi. *Alfabeto* song formats reduce melodic lines and harmony to “unaltered” and overtly simplistic designs, and provide potential performers a chance to demonstrate through improvisation and elaboration the ability to execute a tasteful and meaningful musical performance. Elaborate notation arguably slights the performer, mechanizing and telegraphing musical gestures that run counter to circulating ideas about musical expression.

These aspects of the repertory pose challenging questions to prevailing notions about “professional” singing and composing in the seventeenth century. The art of composing and performing *alfabeto* songs demanded specialized knowledge, more specifically, a working vocabulary of musical and textual gestures that were passed down from Neapolitan and Roman traditions. In the Roman court of Cardinal Montalto, for example, evidence for the cultivation of this knowledge surfaces in the training of a young singer named Baldassare. Subjects that composed the pupil’s curriculum apart from singing lessons included counterpoint, composition, and lessons with the Neapolitan *virtuosa* Ippolita Recupito, who, according to a letter from Cesare Marotta to Enzo Bentivoglio in 1615, “will teach him how to play the guitar.”¹⁹¹

The pedagogical focus of the guitar and the *alfabeto* system attracted both musical “professionals” such as Montalto’s Baldassare and more privileged individuals in search of the more noble pursuits of music making, such as those codified in Castiglione’s *Il cortegiano*. As indicated in Girolamo Montesardo’s *Nuove inventione d’intavolatura* (Florence, 1606)—the first printed record of the *alfabeto* system in Italy—the noble claims for cultivating the Spanish guitar may very well have been the impetus for the

¹⁹¹ Hill, 133.

diffusion of the *alfabeto* system in Italy. In addressing the dedicatee of the collection, Francesco Buontalenti, Montesardo elevates guitar playing to an expression of *virtù*:

<p>Li giorni à dietro di passaggio à Fiorenza, come desiderosissimo di sentire, e godere li canori Cigni, del nuovo Parnaso di questa virtuosissima Città, & essendone invaghito: mi parve necessario farmi conoscere, acciò s'appresentasse (non per mio merito: mà per loro gratia) alcuna occasione di gradire, e servire à questa virtuosa Nobiltà; e frà l'altre mie deboli conditioni, sono stati molti Gentilhuomini, li quali si sono compiaciuti, del sonare, e cantare alla Spagniuola, & in particolare V. S. Molt'Illustre, tanto, che talmente eccitato dal giudizio fattone da lei, intendentissima, così di questa virtù; come anco di molte altre accompagnate di buonissimi costumi, & infinite gratie.¹⁹²</p>	<p>Some days when I passed through Florence, I became most desirous of hearing and enjoying the singing swans of this most virtuous city, a new Parnassus. Having become enchanted by this, it seemed to me necessary to make myself be known in case there should arise the opportunity (not by my merit but by their grace), at some occasion to provide enjoyment and service to this virtuous Nobility. And despite my weakness, there have been many gentlemen—your Highness in particular—who are gratified by the playing and singing in the Spanish manner; such that I was so excited by [favorable] judgment that you expressed, [since] you are so knowledgeable of this skill/craft/<i>virtù</i>, as also of many others accompanied by fine customs and infinite grace.</p>
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Other accounts substantiate the “amateur” noble or upper class cultivation of the guitar throughout the early modern era. The Prince of Salerno, Ferrante Sanseverino, for example, is mentioned as “charming the ladies” at the Fontainebleau court in France with songs sung to the guitar in 1544.¹⁹³ The manuscript entitled “Libros de cartas y Romances Espanoles,” one of the earliest *alfabeto* song sources, was dedicated to the Duchess of Traetta.¹⁹⁴ Later in the seventeenth century, the noble music “connoisseur” Pietro della Valle mentioned that he studied the Spanish guitar in Naples with Giuseppe Novazio,

¹⁹² Girolamo Montesardo, *Nuove inventione d'intavolatura* (Florence: Marescotti, 1606).

¹⁹³ Benedetto Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Bari: Laterza, 1953-4), 333-34. Cited in Keith A. Larson, “The Unaccompanied Madrigal in Naples from 1536 to 1654” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985, 111.

¹⁹⁴ Hill, 42.

“buon maestro di chitarra.”¹⁹⁵ From dedications to several *alfabeto* song prints we can learn that patrons sometimes requested an *alfabeto* song publication after hearing selections performed during some occasion; in the case of Stefano Pesori, many of his students included such noble patrons of music, indicating that the patronage of *alfabeto* song books might have been carried forth with the knowledge that their patrons would later use them as pedagogical and performing sources.

The pedagogical underpinnings of the *alfabeto* song repertory and the consequent widespread practice of singing to Spanish guitar accompaniment were sources of contention among some “professional” musicians, that is to say musicians who were employed as such or recognized as leading performers of the day. This was seen earlier in Chapter 2 in Severo Bonini’s case against the Spanish guitar, in which he attacks the instruments’ association with members of the lower class and the musically unsophisticated. In Bellerofonte Castaldi’s letter to readers from the *Primo mazzetto di fiori* of 1623, the author appears to have more of a problem with the practice of reading *alfabeto* than with the instrument itself:

<p>Il quale digratia non si torca, perche l'Autore, come benissimo sà fare, non habbia messo l'A.B.C. della Chitarra Spagnolissima sopra ciascheduna di quest' Arie che si faria pur anch'egli lasciato portare a seconda dal uso moderno, s'ei non si fosse accorto che poco serve simil Pedanteria a chi non sà se non scartazzare, per mille spropositi che ne le cadenze occorrono mediante il geroglifico sudetto, e colui che sà non ha bisogno che se gl'insegni.¹⁹⁶</p>	<p>Please do not turn away because the Author, most well knowing how to do it, did not place the A.B.Cs of the Spanish Guitar above each one of these Airs, as one does according to current usage. This would have been done if one had not seen that such Pedantry is of little use to those who don’t know (if the letters are not discarded) of the innumerable errors that occur at the cadences because of the aforementioned hieroglyphs. He who knows how does not need to be taught.</p>
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¹⁹⁵ Solerti, 169.

¹⁹⁶ Bellerofonte Castaldi, *Primo mazzetto di fiori* (Venice: A. Vincenti, 1623), 18.

Castaldi's admonishment of the practice of notating *alfabeto* stems from his attitude of superiority as a professional musician (in his specific case a professional theorbist, lutenist, and presumably guitarist). The ultimate source of his denigration, however, is the untrained amateur, one who is not only unable to reconcile musical notation with the *alfabeto*, but also one who "needs to be taught." Castaldi's indignation may have also been fueled by the growing number of musical "amateurs" among the nobility who cultivated the guitar, thus lessening Castaldi's role as arbiter of musical authority. As della Valle, Sanseverino, Montesardo, and the Duchess of Traetta demonstrate, the guitar and *alfabeto* provided noble connoisseurs of music an opportunity to move beyond the passive, sometimes vicarious role of "listener" and into the performing world of "musician."

Exposure to the *alfabeto* song repertory enabled a host of other educational experiences that noble and non-noble students alike could develop as part of their musical training. Exercising tasteful judgment in regard to both music and text (as well as their relationship to one another), for example, was a sign of refined connoisseurship and musicianship, and one that could be cultivated through an interaction with *alfabeto* songs. The lexicon of gestures, phrases, and poetic themes—established through the network of musical and textual concordances circulating within the repertory—provided "amateurs" with tools for evaluating and even demonstrating musically sound judgment. Fundamentally, this vocabulary could explain why certain kinds of songs were judged more appropriate than others to incorporate *alfabeto*. The question of a song's potential for *alfabeto* inscription was an important topic for *alfabeto* song composers/publishers, noted in the many title pages that advertise its contents "*per cantare con l'alfabeto per la*

Chitarra Spagnola in quelle più a proposito per tale istromento (“for singing with *alfabeto* for the Spanish guitar in those pieces more appropriate for such an instrument”). Experienced musical judgment was especially crucial for performers reading from non-notated *alfabeto* song sheets. Backed with the knowledge of what constitutes an appropriate and effective performance, the untrained “amateur” could attain, even surpass, the improvisational (compositional?) merits of the “professional” musician.

Such an approach to *alfabeto* song improvisation/composition capitalized on specific musical and textual themes that must have resonated with great currency among audiences in the *seicento*.¹⁹⁷ As shown in Chapter 4, many of these themes originated in sources printed in Rome and Naples. Whether or not audiences heard these musical gestures as “Roman,” “Neapolitan,” or “southern” is of course difficult to answer. The examples of Sanseverino, della Valle, Montesardo, and the Dutchess of Traetta allude to the overarching association of Naples with guitar song performance, a theme that was also emphasized in the high occurrence of musical and textual outsourcing among the repertory from prints and manuscripts of Roman and Neapolitan provenance. The appropriation of southern musical traditions was certainly not a new phenomenon in the central and northern regions of Italy, illustrated by the widespread printing of the *villanesca alla napolitana* in Venice during the sixteenth century. The remainder of this chapter serves to contextualize both the early Neapolitan cultivation and later Venetian standardization of the repertory within a wider Italian awareness and mythology of Neapolitan culture. I intend to show how the *alfabeto* song tradition and the Spanish

¹⁹⁷ On the effects of good judgment and taste in singing during the early *Seicento*, see Richard Wistreich, “La voce è grata assai, ma...’: Monteverdi on singing,” *Early Music* 22 (1994): 7-19, and Suzanne G. Cusick, “There was not one lady who failed to shed a tear’: Arianna’s lament and the construction of modern womanhood,” *Early Music* 22 (1994): 21-43.

guitar were instrumental in constructing and maintaining certain notions and even stereotypes of Neapolitan (and to an extent Sicilian) identity. Above all, the *alfabeto* song tradition emanated from a complex ideology about "southern-ness" that was inextricably linked to the Spanish viceroyalty in the Kingdom of Naples as well as the emerging "grand tour" mythology of the Italian south that captivated both its inhabitants and visitors to the *Mezzogiorno*.

Naples and Authenticity

The city of Naples was presented as a theme and source of inspiration in the early printed *alfabeto* song repertory. In Montesardo's *I lieti giorni di Napoli* (Naples, 1611/12), Naples was promoted as a living pastoral paradise, praised in the dedication to Don Pietro Ferdinando di Castro for its fertile soil and natural beauty:

<p>Ampie, & Illustre Città sono per l'Italia: ma fra tutte la più vagha, e più gentile (dicono) sia Napoli, che se ben in un'altr'Opera du Musica lodai Fiorenza, per le notti allegre, non mi pareva conveniente tacer le devute lodi della mia bella, e gentile Napoil, con darglene questo titolo al mondo de LIETI GIORNI, lieti per la fecondità della terra; poiche tutto l'anno soavissimi frutti si cogliono, lieti per l'amenità dell'aria, essendovi un'eterna Primavera, lieti per la bellezza, e leggiadria del Mare, che la cinge, lieti per l'infinte fontane, e maravigliosi giardini, che l'ombreggiano, lieti per gli ameni colli, abbondanti compagne, e fruttiferi monti, che la satiano, e smaltata in giro da leggiadrissimi borghi marvigliosa la rendono.¹⁹⁸</p>	<p>There are expansive and illustrious cities in Italy; but among them all, Naples is the most charming and genteel (as they say); and if in another musical work I praised Florence for its cheerful nights, it does not seem to me reasonable to keep quiet about the dutiful praises of my beautiful and gentle Naples, to it I give this title to the world: HAPPY DAYS, days that are delightful because of the fertility of the land, as all year round very sweet fruit can be picked; delightful because of the sweetness of the air, where it is eternally Spring; delightful because of the beauty and loveliness of the sea that surround it; delightful because of the infinite fountains and marvelous gardens that shade it; delightful because of the pleasant hills, abundant countryside, and fruit-bearing mountains that grow there, varnished around by delightful villages that make it marvelous.</p>
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¹⁹⁸ Montesardo, *I liti giorni di Napoli* (Naples: Gargano & Nucci, 1612).

Figure 12: Dedication page of Montesardo's *I lieti giorni di Napoli* (Naples, 1612)

ALL' ILLVSTRISSIMO, ET ECCELLENTISS. SIG.
D. PIETRO FERDINANDO
 DI CASTRO,
 ET ANDRADA CONTE DI LEMOS, E D'ANDRADA,
 Marchese di Sarria, Conte di Villalba, e nel Regno di Na-
 poli Vicerè, Luogotenente, e Capitan Genera-
 le per Sua Maestà.



A M P I E, & Illustre Città sono per l'Italia: ma fra tut-
 te la più vagha, e più gentile (dicono) sia Napoli, che
 se ben in un'altr'Opera di Musica lodai Fiorenza, per le
 notti allegre, non mi pareua conueniente tacer le deu-
 te lodi della mia bella, e gentile Napoli, con darglene
 questo titolo al mondo de LIETI GIORNI, lieti
 per la fecondità della terra; poiche tutto l'anno soauissi-
 mi frutti si cogliono, lieti per l'amenità dell'aria, essen-
 doci vn'eterna Primavera, lieti per la bellezza, e leggi-
 adria del Mare, che la cinge, lieti per l'infinita fontane, e marauigliosi giardi-
 ni, che l'ombreggiano, lieti per gli ameni colli, abbondanti campagne, e fruttife-
 ri monti, che la satiano, e finalata in giro da leggiadrissimi borghi marauiglio-
 sa la rendono. Hor godi più lieta, e più felice Napoli, mentre nuouo Sole, e
 nuouo Duce ti regge, & illustra, come fa hoggi la presenza di V. S. Illustrissi-
 ma, & Eccellentissima, che se per tutta la Spagna il nome suo hau: acquistato
 quel chiaro grido, che'l mondo ia, hoggi chiaramente si vede, per la santità della
 vita, per la gran prudenza, & per l'heroiche sue virtù esser stimata da tutti per
 vn chiaro, e lucido Sole, che fa più lieti, e più splendenti i nostri giorni, ma fe-
 licissimo mi reputarò io essendo per tal splendore sicuro, e libero di detrattori.
 Accetti dunque questo picciol dono, se ben non arriua alla grandezza di lei, con
 quella benignità, che mi hà fatto anima à dedicarla. Si che la buona gratia, e
 protezione di lei, che sola manca per illustrarla, faccia conoscere, ch'io l'habbi
 così felicemente appoggiata, come io l'hò nobilitata, & altamente indiritta. Con
 qual fine humil mente inubinandomi priego il Signore Iddio, che d'ogni suo desi-
 derio la faccia sempre lieta, e contenta. Di Napoli à dì primo di Marzo 1612.

Di V. S. Illustrissima, & Eccellentissi.

Humilissimo seruitore.

Girolamo Montesardo.

This the author contrasts with his earlier publication *L'allegre notti di Fiorenza*, a musical collection that recounts the music-filled evenings of Florentine piazzas.¹⁹⁹ Note in Montesardo's dedication of this earlier publication his focus on the architectural and cultural grandeur of the city:

<p>Fra quante Città nel Fecondo suo seno l'altra Italia richiude, alcuna non ve ne hà (così è co[m]une opinione) che con la bella, Flora di garreggiare ardisca. Questa irrigata dall'Arno, cui saldi Ponti, Archi stabili sopra le chiare acque distendono, mille canori Cigni, mille lodi di lieta cantare, invita dolcemente. Eccelsa per i Tempi da Dedolica mano fabricati; Augusta per l'Architettura, e copie de Palazzi Maravigliosa per la dirittura, & ampiezza della Strade; Gratiiosa per i Giardini, che tali l'Esperidi non hebbero, Superba per la grandezza delle Statue. Sublime per l'altezza delle Colonne, Altera per la magnificenza delle Loggie, adorna per la bellezza delle Fontane, Vaga per la Piazze spatiose: Industrie per la diversità dell'Arti, Forte per la Struttura delle Mure che la pingono.²⁰⁰</p>	<p>It is the common opinion that among the cities noble Italy holds in its fertile breast, none have the courage to compete with the beautiful Flora [Florence]. This [Flora] is irrigated by the Arno, with its sturdy bridges; stable arches above the clear water spread out over countless singing swans; innumerable praises of delight are sung, sweetly inviting [you]; glorious for its temples made by Daedalus-like hands; majestic for its architecture and quantity of palaces; marvelous for the straightness and openness of its streets; charming for its gardens, such that Hesperus never had; splendid for the grandeur of its statues; sublime for the nobility of its columns; stately for the magnificence of its loggias; decorated for the beauty of its fountains; graceful for its spacious piazzas; industrious for the diversity of its arts; strong for the construction of its walls that surround it.</p>
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Most sensitive to his patron's respect and civic pride, Montesardo in *L'allegre notti* fashions the cultural heritage of Florence as its greatest strength. In contrast with Naples, Florence is a city that has benefited most from the industry of human ingenuity and perseverance. Naples, on the other hand, is a city blessed by nature; an earthly paradise

¹⁹⁹ For more on Montesardo's *L'allegre notti*, see Tim Carter, "Serate Musicali in Early Seventeenth-Century Florence: Girolamo Montesardo's *L'Allegre Notti di Fiorenza*," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth* (Florence: Giunti Barbèra, 1985), 555-68; and Maria Grazia Barone, "Da *L'allegre notti di Fiorenza* a *I lieti giorni di Napoli*: Itinerario di un compositore del '600," in *La musica da Napoli durante il Seicento*, ed. Domenico Antonio d'Alessandro and Agostino Ziino (Rome: Edizioni Torre d'Orfeo, 1987), 105-24.

²⁰⁰ Montesardo, *L'allegre notti di Fiorenza* (Venice, 1608).

that for the native Montesardo has no equal in its charming, agreeable, and genteel atmosphere. The disparity of the two cities outlined in these descriptions underlines the wider issue of how regional and civic identity was established in early modern Italy. To Neapolitans the dedication of *I lieti giorni* rouses pride in the land and its natural surroundings; to its northern Italian neighbors it advertises a retreat from the civilized and developed world and emphasizes an already circulating mythology about Naples and the Italian south.

As Jennifer Selwyn has recently argued, this mythology, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, was propagated in large part by Catholic religious reformers, especially the Jesuit fathers who equated their missionary activities in the *Mezzogiorno* to similar exploits in the New World.²⁰¹ Benedetto Croce's phrase "il paradiso abitato da diavoli" sums up the ambivalent mythology espoused by the Jesuits that informed the Curia and other regions of the north about the Kingdom of Naples in the early modern period.²⁰² The polarizing duality of Naples as a "paradise inhabited by devils" captured the early modern Italian imagination at least by the fifteenth century, noted in the Florentine satirist Arlotto Mainardi's *Facezie motti e burle* (ca. 1450), where the author describes Naples as an "earthly paradise [that produces] an enormous quantity and abundance of innumerable goods and many exquisite types of fruits for the nourishment...and sustenance of men...[who are] full of little ingenuity...malignant, bad and full of treason."²⁰³ The scandalous political affairs of the Spanish viceroyalty and an

²⁰¹ Jennifer D. Sewlyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot, UK, Burlington, VT, and Rome: Ashgate, 2004).

²⁰² Benedetto Croce, "Il 'paradiso abitato da diavoli'," in *Uomini e cose della vecchia Italia* (Bari: Laterza, 1927).

²⁰³ Piovano Arlotto Mainardi, *Facezie motti de burle*, ed. Chiara Amerighi (Florence: Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 1980), 232-3. Translated citation in Selwyn, 25-6.

untamed, often riotous Neapolitan populace, while serious concerns for the Jesuit fathers, were not always top priorities for the Curia insurgency in early modern southern Italy. Tommaso Orfini, an official papal visitor to the Terra di Bari and Otranto provinces in present-day Puglia during the second half of the sixteenth century, voiced other concerns about the suspicious practices of the local clergy such as keeping concubines, committing murders and other serious crimes, and fathering children. Orfini was also disturbed by the spiritual practices of the laity:

Si è trovato molto difettarsi ne l'andar de sacerdoti a l'infermi et agonizzanti' in luogho de quali si è travo andarci le donne con parole che chiamano orationi, che hanno del superstitioso. ²⁰⁴	The priests were found to be greatly wanting to attend the sick and dying; in their place went women with words that they call <i>orationi</i> , which have something superstitious about them.
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The impression of the Kingdom of Naples as a cultural and political backwater was also made on foreign visitors, who often allude to an aloof and decadent ruling Spanish monarchy, spurring famine, plague, and food riots among the populace. Fabrizio Barnaba, an agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, chronicles in 1601 that:

The famine is so great throughout the Kingdom [of Naples] that the communities come together in Naples, and they go throughout the city, crying: 'Bread, bread.' And there is such a concentration of the poor that God forbid there is an infestation of plague; because the people are dying on the streets and no one is taking any chances.²⁰⁵

The paradox of Naples existing in the minds of early modern Italians as a place of immeasurable beauty and fecundity yet tainted by the sordid and ignorant affairs of its inhabitants and foreign rulers seemed to have an effect on the collective psyche of

²⁰⁴ Tommaso Orfini, "La visita di Brindisi," A.S.V. Arm. XXXV, t. 93, cited in Pasquale Villani, "La visita apostolica di Tommaso Orfini nel regno di Napoli (1566-1568): Documenti per la storia dell'applicazione del Concilio di Trento," in *Annuario dell'Istituto storico italiano per l'età moderne e contemporanea* 8 (1956): 38.

²⁰⁵ Fabrizio Barnaba, "Lettere di 23 Aprile 1607: Documenti sulla storia economica e civile del regno Cavati dal Carteggio degli agenti del granduca di Toscana in Napoli dall'anno 1582-1648," *Archivio storico italiano* 9 (1846): 266. Cited and translated in Selwyn, 33-4.

Neapolitans and their southern neighbors. This is most evident in the surging number of Neapolitan “*descrittioni*” and regional histories published in Latin and the vernacular throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century that cast the southern kingdom in favorable light.²⁰⁶ While many foreign visitors criticized Naples for its crowded streets and looming social problems (foreigners often blamed the city’s large multiethnic population) the travel guide author Giulio Cesare Capaccio in 1634 celebrated the cultural vibrancy of his city in heroic terms:

Now many other inhabitants have been added here [...] Calabrese, Abruzzese and from closer by, coastal dwellers [...] and] they have filled up the entire city with such a frequency that they make up almost a third of it [...] and from what I have heard, as the inhabitants are frequenting and developing the city, they are [also] ennobling it.²⁰⁷

Early modern Neapolitan travel guides often allude to the physical and “optimistic” qualities of the city and countryside, emphasizing the extraordinary panoramas offered from hilltops that surround the city, its classical and biblical history, and the wonders of natural monuments such as Mt. Vesuvius, the “Grotta del Cane” (Cave of the Dog), and its seaside cliffs.²⁰⁸

In the context of the circulating mythology of Naples in print during the seventeenth century, Montesardo’s *I lieti di giorni di Napoli* serves as much as an advertised “*descrittione*” of the province as it does a musical tribute to the city and its

²⁰⁶ For an introduction to early modern Neapolitan travel guide literature, see Jeanne Chenault Porter, *Baroque Naples: A Documentary History* (New York: Italica Press, 2000), xxxi-xxxiii. A comprehensive bibliography of early modern *descrittioni* of Naples can be found in Rosario Manfredi, “Le ‘*discrittioni*’ di Napoli (1450-1692): appunti per una ricerca bibliografica,” in *Rendiconti della Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti* 63 (1992): 63-108.

²⁰⁷ Giulio Cesare Capaccio, *Il Forasteiro* (Naples, 1634), 690. Cited and translated in Selwyn, 26.

²⁰⁸ See for example the landscape descriptions of John Evelyn’s *An Englishman’s view of the City* [of Naples] in 1645, transcribed in *The Diary of John Evelyn, Kalendarium 1620-49*, vol. 2, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 325-32. For descriptions of Neapolitan physical landmarks by native authors, see Enrico Bacco, *Nuova discrittione del regno de Napoli diviso in dodici provincie* (Secondino Roncaglio and Ottavio Beltrano: Naples, 1629).

ruler. In Montesardo's dedication to the collection, his illustration of the Neapolitan landscape was supplemented with praise for the rule of its dedicatee Don Pietro Fernando di Castro, the Spanish viceroy of Naples from 1610-1616. Fernando was a descendant of Fernando Ruiz di Castro, an earlier enlightened viceroy of Naples whose progressive reign established, among other things, state recognition of intellectual academies, a practice that nearly ceased after Viceroy Don Pietro di Toledo's condemnation of the anti-Spanish sentiment of the academies in the middle of the sixteenth century:²⁰⁹

<p>Hor godi più lieta, e più felice Napoli, mentre nuovo Sole, e nuovo Duce ti regge, & illustra, come fa hoggi la presenza di V.S. Illustrissima, & Eccellentissima, che se per tutta la Spagna il nome suo have acquistato quel chiaro grido, che'l mondo sà, hoggi chiaramente si vede, per la santità della vita, per la gran prudenza, & per l'heroiche sue virtù esser stimata da tutti per un chiaro, e lucido Sole, che fa più lieti, e più splendenti i nostri giorni, ma felicissimo mi riputarò io essendo per tal splendore sicuro, e libero di detrattori.²¹⁰</p>	<p>Now, Naples, delight in more happiness, in more well-being, as a new Sun, a new Duke reigns and brightens you, as is shown today by the presence of Your Most Illustrious and Excellent Highness, as throughout all of Spain your name has acquired that bright fame that the world knows; today one clearly sees that [because of] the holiness of your life, your great prudence, and your heroic <i>virtù</i> you are esteemed by all a bright and lucid sun that makes our days more happy and splendid; and I consider myself most happy since I am, through this splendor, secure and free of detractors.</p>
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I lieti giorni di Napoli is a unique addition to the literature propounding a mythology of Naples. Drawing from familiar themes present in the language of traveler's guides and histories of the city, Montesardo's *alfabeto* songbook functions beyond the scope of an exclusively musical publication.

Neapolitan music occupied an important place in formulating a mythology of Naples. The city, for example, was regularly cited in musical writings of the *seicento* as the origin of musical practices that were later standardized in north and central Italian

²⁰⁹ Chenault Porter, xlv-xlv.

²¹⁰ Montesardo, *I lieti giorni di Napoli*.

regions. Among the musical achievements that Vincenzo Giustiniani traces back to Naples in his *Discorso sopra la musica* (1628) include the *villanella napoletana* as cultivated in Rome, the invention of the *arpa doppia* and *sordellina*, and the practice of singing to the Spanish guitar.²¹¹ Neapolitan musicians are likewise cited in Giustiniani's treatise as introducing various styles and practices to northern cities and courts. Among them include Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and a Giovanni Andrea Napoletano, credited as introducing to Italy the singing of one voice with accompaniment, and [Carlo] Gesualdo Prince of Venosa, described as inventing the manner of "composing madrigals full of many artifices and exquisite counterpoint."²¹²

The foundation for the musical "mythology" of Naples in the *seicento* had antecedents in the sixteenth century, most notably demonstrated in the recognition of the city as the birthplace of the *canzona villanesca* as well as home (if only temporarily) to two of the most influential music theorists of the Renaissance, Tinctoris and Gaffurius. Oftentimes the language used to describe Neapolitan music celebrated the natural, innate, and folkloristic qualities that captured the interest of audiences from northern Italy and beyond. Reminiscent of early modern Neapolitan travel guide authors who boasted about the natural beauty of their homeland, Neapolitan musical authors, too, painted an image of Neapolitan music that emphasized sweetness, delicacy, naturalness, and even intuition, as the poet Benedetto Di Falco proclaimed in 1535:

²¹¹ Solerti, 121-6.

²¹² Solerti, 107, 109.

Della musica poi, oltre di quel naturale istinto, di che par che il Cielo habbia ogni Napoletano spirito dotato, onde quasi ciascuno alla natura, l'arte giungendo di girono, e di notte, tal'ora con voci, tal'ora con strumenti, diverse armonie in diversi luochi si sentono con dolcezza mirabile. ²¹³	Then, in regards to music, besides that of natural instinct, with which it appears that heaven has endowed every Neapolitan, almost every one adds art to nature; and this day and night, at times with voices, at times with instruments, diverse harmonies or heavenly sweetness are heard in various places .
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As Donna Cardamone has shown, sixteenth century Neapolitan authors were vocal and often prideful about the ubiquitous role of music in the everyday life of Naples, including the lives of the *plebe* (the Neapolitan lower working class). This view is explicitly stated in Giambattista Del Tufo's explanation of local Neapolitan customs to his Milanese audience:

L'udito da canzon, musiche, e suoni per tutti quei cantoni havrà cio che desia, cio ch'egli vuole ne l'aria, e 'n le parole la notte e 'l dì da cento con non mai più bramar altro contento. Come ne le botteghe à parte à parte senza nessuna altre arte tutti quei lavoranti, e quei garzoni nostri Napolitanj con gl'aghi con le forbici à le mani cantando arij, ò canzoni. ²¹⁴	The ear will obtain all it cares for from songs, music, and sounds in all corners [of the city], all that it wants in the tune and in the words, day and night, by the hundreds, so that it will nevermore long for another kind of happiness. Likewise in the shops everywhere, and with no need of instruction, all those workers and those Neapolitan shopkeepers of ours sing <i>arie</i> and <i>canzoni</i> with needles and scissors in their hands.
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The Spanish guitar plays a central role in discussions of Neapolitan music by native and non-native authors in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The Neapolitan theorist Scipione Cerreto in his *Dell'arbore musicale* of 1608, for example, noted the local custom of singing to the Spanish guitar in the following terms:

²¹³ Benedetto Di Falco, *Antichità di Napoli e del suo amenissimo distretto*, 6th ed. (Naples: Carlo Porsile, 1679), 64. 1st ed. (Naples: Mattio Cancer, 1535). Cited and translated in Cardamone, vol. 1, 105.

²¹⁴ Giambattista Del Tufo, "Ritratto o modello," Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli MS XIII.C.96, edited in Calogero Tagliareni, *Giovanni Battista Del Tufo, Ritratto* (Naples, 1959). Cited and translated in Cardamone, vol. 1, 115.

Vi sono ancora gli Sonatore di Chitarra alla Spagnola, alliquali si ben li tocca l'istesso grado, nondimeno per essere state usata de gente basse, e di poco valore non dico da Buffoni, liquali se ne hanno servito ne i conviti, ma che fusse poi usato tal suono da Cavalieri, & da altri persone principali l'hà cagionato la facilità dello stromento, quale essercitio s'impara più tosto per aria, che per arte. ²¹⁵	There are also players of the Spanish guitar, who belong to the same status [as the players of the double harp and lute]; notwithstanding that [the guitar] was used by lower class people and those of little worth, not to mention Buffoons who have made use of it at banquets; later [the instrument's] cultivation by <i>Cavalieri</i> and other notable persons came about because of the facility of the instrument, whose technique is learned more <i>per aria</i> than <i>per arte</i> .
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As Keith Larson has mentioned, the Spanish guitar appeared to have been cultivated both by the Neapolitan *popolo* and the nobility, which is evident not only in the earlier cited account of the Prince of Salerno impressing the female company in a visit to France with his guitar songs, but also remarks by Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale—the Genoese consulate in Naples—about the working class *plebe* singing songs to the guitar in 1632.²¹⁶ The association of Neapolitan noble musicians with the guitar continued into the seventeenth century, noted by Giustiniani's description of Carlo Gesualdo in the *Discorso*:

E cominciò il Prencipe Gesualdo di Venosa, che sonava anche per eccellenza di Leuto e di Chitarra napoletana, a componere Madrigali pieni di molto artificio e di contraponto esquisito. ²¹⁷	And then Prince Gesualdo of Venosa, who also played excellently the lute and the <i>Chitarra napoletana</i> , began composing madrigals full of artifice and exquisite counterpoint.
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Later in the *Discorso*, Giustiniani communicates directly the Neapolitan provenance of playing both the *chitarra spagnola* and *napolitana*:

²¹⁵ Scipione Cerreto, *Dell'arbore musicale* (Naples: Sottile, 1608).

²¹⁶ “Imperiale noted on 21 Dec. 1632 that he would rather hear four *romanzi* squawked out over the out-of-tune guitar of a barber than hear the funeral antiphons of bad news brought in the day's mail,” (Larson, 112). Larson cites Giovanni Vincenzo Imperiale, “Viaggi di Gian Vincenzo Imperiale,” *Atti della Società Ligure di storia patria* 29 (1898): 536.

²¹⁷ Solerti, 109.

<p>Tanto più che nell'istesso tempo s'introdusse la Chitarra all spagnola per tutta Italia, massime in Napoli, che unita con la Tiorba, pare che abbiano congiurato di sbandire affatto il Liuto; et è quasi riuscito a punto, come il modo di vestire alla spagnola in Italia prevale a tutte le altre foggie...Il suonare di Chitarra napolitana resta affatto dismesso in Roma, e quasi anche in Napoli, con la quale già suonavano in eccellenza Don Ettore Gesualdo e Fabritio Fillomarino in conserto col Prencipe suddetto di Venosa.²¹⁸</p>	<p>Moreover, at the same time the Spanish guitar was introduced to Italy, mainly in Naples. Together with the Theorbo, it appears that they have conspired to disband the Lute completely, and they have nearly succeeded, as similarly the fashion of dressing in the Spanish manner trumps all other styles in Italy...The playing of the <i>Chitarra napolitana</i> has entirely ceased in Rome, and is nearly given up in Naples, where it was excellently played in previous times by Don Ettore Gesualdo and Fabritio Fillomarino <i>in conserto</i> with the previously cited Prince [Gesualdo] of Venosa.</p>
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The primary role that the guitar played in fashioning the musical identity of Naples in early *seicento* Italy is also evident in the *alfabeto* song repertory. This is foremost apparent in the circulation of Neapolitan *alfabeto* song texts among the repertory outlined in Chapter 4. The repertory also displays its Neapolitan roots in the cultivation of folklore and dialect songs that frequent the publications, most significantly illustrated in *Il carro di Madama Lucia* (Rome: Robletti, 1628), a collection titled after the stock Neapolitan carnival theater character Lucia. As Elena Ferrari-Barassi has noted, the organization, characters, and numbers in Fasolo's *alfabeto* songbook are indicative of the Neapolitan *moresca* tradition that first appeared in print during the first half of the sixteenth century.²¹⁹ The oft-cited "Lamento di Madama Lucia" that opens Fasolo's collection, based on a descending tetrachord bass pattern, features a dialogue between the Moorish slaves Lucia and Cola, and was later set in a similar musical setting by Francesco Manelli in his *Musiche varie* (Venice: Magni, 1636).²²⁰ Other strong

²¹⁸ Solerti, 126.

²¹⁹ Ferrari-Barassi, 325-331.

²²⁰ For discussions on Giovanni Battista Fasolo, Francesco Manelli, and the authorship of the "Lamento di Madama Lucia", see Ferrari-Barassi, "La *Luciata* di Francesco Manelli. Considerazione su una perduta

resonances of the *Il Carro* and the Neapolitan *moresca* tradition occur in “Sotto un ombroso Faggio,” subtitled “Squazzato di Colasone,” a three-voice dialogue featuring onomatopoeic refrains alluding to the sounds of Neapolitan and rustic instruments, a defining attribute of the *moresche* of Nola and Lasso.²²¹

The allusion of Fasolo’s collection to earlier “popular” theatrical and musical traditions of the South persuaded Lorenzo Bianconi to characterize the dramatic *scene* of *Il Carro* as “realistic portrayal[s] of lower class life (rural and/or urban).”²²² The focus of Bianconi’s assessment, however, has less to do with Neapolitan identity as it does with a comparison of the musical appropriation of the *passacaglia* and *ciaccona* in *Lamento di Madama Lucia* and the refined settings of Frescobaldi, Storace, Gregorio Strozzi, Purcell, and Lully:

This function [an appropriation of the *passacaglia* and *ciaccona* in the stylized choral and ceremonial dances of the mid-late seventeenth century], we might add, has little in common with the earlier erotic connotations of this originally “popular” dance; nor, indeed, is it linked to the realism of the earliest scenic applications—themselves surely of decidedly “low-class” orientation—of the *passacaglia/chaconne* on the Italian peninsula. “Low class” is the coarse and burlesquely plaintive dialogue between Madama Lucia and Cola Napoletano in what can only be described as a true miniature scene of *commedia dell’arte* descent.²²³

stampa della Biblioteca Municipale di Breslavia, l’esemplare di un manoscritto berlinese e un componimento del ‘Fasolo’,” in *Quadrivium* 9 (1970): 211-42; and Francesco Luisi, “*Il carro di Madama Lucia et una serenata in lingua lombarda: note sull’attribuzione definitiva a Giovanni Battista Fasolo*,” in *Seicento inesplorato: L’evento musicale tra prassi e stile*, ed. Alberto Colzani and Andrea Luppi (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993), 481-96. The most recent additions to the biography discussion involving Giovanni Battista Fasolo and Francesco Manelli are presented in a series of articles that introduce a facsimile edition of Chilesotti’s transcription of Fasolo’s *Barchetta passaggiera*. See Fasolo, *Barchetta passaggiera*, ed. Oscar Chilesotti and Ottavio Beretta (Lucca: Libreria musicale italiana, 1994).

²²¹ Donna Cardamone, “Villanella,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 10 May 2006) <<http://www.grovemusic.com/content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>>

²²² Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century*, 102-04.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 104.

Although Bianconi omits reference to the Neapolitan flavor of the *Lamento*, his insight into the “popular” and “low class” authenticity of the musical scene contributes to a sense of the (north) Italian impression of Spanish-Italian customs during the early *seicento*. As Bianconi mentions, the Spanish *chaconna* was first introduced in its Italian printed form in Montesardo’s *Nuova inventione d’intavolature per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagnola* (1606), and would continue to be affiliated with Spanish guitar music throughout the seventeenth century. The *chacona*’s further association with moral impropriety and New world “barbarism” only helped to perpetuate in Italy negative views of Spanish customs that mirrored the general Italian indignation and mistrust of Spanish rule in Naples and Sicily.²²⁴ Certainly these stereotypes played foremost in the minds of the Neapolitan ruling class, who were arguably the first Italians to experience the guitar’s association with the *chacona* and other lower class exponents as personified in early seventeenth-century Spanish theater produced on the Neapolitan stage.²²⁵

Alfabeto song also figured prominently in the early seventeenth century musical associations with other regions in the Kingdom of Naples, most notably Sicily. Ottavio Tiby first dealt with the issue of a Sicilian presence in later *alfabeto* vocal publications in 1954, noting the inclusion of *arie siciliane* or *arie per cantare ottave siciliane* in the *alfabeto* collections of Stefani, Milanuzzi, and Romano.²²⁶ As later musicologists such as Dario Lo Cicero have shown, the dissemination of the *aria siciliana* in the first half of the

²²⁴ The “Revolt of Masaniello” (ca. 1647) is often considered the culmination of the ambivalent and strained relationship between Spain’s ruling government in Naples and the Neapolitan populace during the seventeenth century. The standard references in Italian and English are Aurelio Musi, *La Rivolta di Masaniello nella scena politica barocca* (Naples: Guida, 1989) and Rosario Villari, *The Revolt of Naples*, trans. James Newell (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1993).

²²⁵ Richard Hudson advanced the thesis that the *chacona* was introduced to Italy via the Neapolitan stage in *Passacaglio and Ciaccona: From Guitar Music to Italian Keyboard Variations in the 17th Century* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980), 8-9.

²²⁶ Ottavio Tiby, “Il problema della ‘Siciliana’ dal Trecento al Settecento” *Bollettino del Centro di studi filologici e linguistici siciliani* 2 (1954).

seventeenth century—more or less defined according to its literary design (a *strambotto* in *ottava rima*)—is confined to the *alfabeto* song repertory.²²⁷ Unlike other musical settings of *ottave rime* such as the *Ruggeiro*, the *siciliane* of the *alfabeto* song repertory are not associated with a particular set of musical gestures such as a melody or harmonic pattern. Their associative uniqueness appears to lie rather on the employment of Sicilian dialect. Pietro della Valle in his letter to Lelio Guidiccioni on the *musica del'età nostra*, emphasizes that the *arie siciliane* as cultivated in Rome were imported from the South, and further groups them with a series of foreign musical imports that captured Roman audiences. Della Valle's account of the importation of *arie siciliane* is imbued with a sense of authenticity and even folklore, as he purports to have heard a popular Sicilian air while on an excursion to Messina in 1610:

²²⁷ Dario Lo Cicero, "Nuove fonti per la siciliana seicentesca" in *Ceciliana per Nino Pirrotta*, ed. Maria Antonella Balsano and Giuseppe Collisani (Palermo: Flaccovio editore, 1994), 11-24. The absence of *arie siciliane* in solo song publications of the seventeenth century is confirmed in Leopold's inventory of *ottave* settings. See Leopold, *Al modo d'Orfeo*, vol. 2, 176-82.

<p>E le arie siciliane, che son galantissime per gli affetti pietosi e malinconici, le quali io, prima forse di tutti, portai in Roma da Napoli prima, e poi anche da Sicilia: dove l'anno 1611 ebbi in Messina un'aria che ora la sento cantare in Roma per una delle più belle, e mi furono anche donati due libri manoscritti di ottave siciliane assai buone, che ancora li conservo; e infin d'allora, presa un poco quella maniera, anche io di mia testa in quel tuono siciliano schizzai qualche cosa che ho fra li miei scartafacci, e come si vede son cose affettuosissime: ne' tempi addietro in Roma non si erano mai sentite; oggi ci si cantano così bene come nell'istessa Sicilia, nè so se meglio possa farsi. Lasciamo le ciaccone spagnuole, le saravante, i passacagli, le ciacotte portoghesi e tante altre arie straniere che da poco tempo in quà, e di stravanganze di tempi e di novità di andare, hanno in Roma arricchito molto la musica delle villanelle e canzonette che prima ci erano ignote..²²⁸</p>	<p>I was perhaps the first to bring to Rome <i>arie siciliane</i>—most gallant for their plaintive and melancholy <i>affetti</i>—first from Naples and also from Sicily, where in the year 1611 I obtained in Messina an <i>aria</i> that today I hear sung as one of the most beautiful in Rome. I was also given two manuscript books of very fine <i>ottave siciliane</i> that are still in my possession. From that time, having acquired that skill somewhat, I also sketched some things from my head in the Sicilian mode/sound, which I have in my notebooks. As one can see they are full of <i>affetto</i>. These were never heard in past times in Rome: today they are sung there as well as they are in Sicily, and I don't know if it can be done any better. Let us leave the Spanish <i>ciaccone</i>, the sarabands, the <i>passacagli</i>, the Portuguese <i>ciacotte</i>, and other such foreign <i>arie</i> that for the last little while have greatly enriched the music of <i>villanelle</i> and <i>canzonette</i> in Rome, by their extravagance of meter and novelty of rhythm that have been unknown to us until now.</p>
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Two sources that contain pieces that most likely fits della Valle's description of *arie siciliane* heard in Rome are Giovanni Battista Abatessa's *Intessitura di varii fiori* (Rome: i Pieri e Paci, 1652), a Spanish guitar tablature book appended with "alcune" *villanelle* and *ottave siciliane*, and the Roman musician Giacinta Fedele's *Scelta di villanelle* (Vicenza: Francesco Grossi, 1628), a collection of Neapolitan songs and *ottave siciliane* with *alfabeto*. Abatessa, whose guitar books were published in Italy throughout the early seventeenth century, was born in Bitonto and spent his last years in Bari. While his *villanelle* are presented as texts with *alfabeto*, the *siciliane* that conclude the *Intessitura* appear without *alfabeto*, adding to the enigmatic musical quality of the *ottava*

²²⁸ Solerti, 169-70.

siciliana in musical publications. Manuscript sources of *arie siciliane* with *alfabeto*, on the other hand, confirm that this unique repertory was closely associated with the guitar, and that the symbol of the instrument as an exponent of southern Italian culture extended beyond the confines of the city of Naples. This is noted in Francesco Grossi's printing of Fedele's *Scelta di villanelle* in Vicenza in 1628, whose *ottave siciliane* appear with lower case *alfabeto* printed above the strophes, in the same manner as Millioni's *Prima scielta* and Abatessa's *villanelle*. Fedele's song book survives in a bound collection of *ottave* and popular Venetian poetry books by Paolo Britti housed in the British Library, attesting to the book's association with the northern Italian cultivation of *ottave siciliane* in the early seventeenth century.

The guitar and its accompanying *alfabeto* notation present themselves as confusing and often contradictory symbols in *seicento* musical life. While articulating popular "authenticity" and contributing to the musical mythology of Naples and Spanish Italy, it also created a sense of tension and anxiety for authors who were concerned with musical professionalism and taste (Bonini, Cerreto, and Castaldi).

Chapter 6: Historiographical Claims for the Repertory and Concluding Remarks

The ambivalence of the repertory and the Spanish guitar noted by seventeenth-century authors survives today in the works of scholars who see the *alfabeto* song as a problematic symbol of failure and irony in the world of *seicento* music. This view was first voiced in Nigel Fortune's dissertation on "monody" from 1953:

The sudden popularity of the guitar [in the 1620s]...coincided, firstly with the publication of arias (or rather villanellas and canzonets) more frivolous and inane than any that had been published in earlier years and, secondly with Giacomo Vincenti's introduction of small quarto song-books. The three innovations link up with one another; but it is idle to speculate whether it was the guitar which popularized and debased the aria and led to a demand for handier publications, or conversely, whether people found that the new, silly songs sounded best if they were sung to the guitar.²²⁹

Fortune's anxiety about the prolific production of *alfabeto* songs in the 1620s was foregrounded in a misinformed (and perhaps ethnocentric) appraisal about artistic life in Spanish Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries:

[In Spanish Naples] taxes on corn, bread, and salt were iniquitous; famine was a continual horror; there were frequent outbreaks of malaria; the most trifling offence was punished with the utmost severity; the Spanish rulers threatened the subject Italians with contempt and insolence, and openly flaunted their extravagance in front of them; and, on top of all this, the rigours of the Inquisition were more terrible in Naples than anywhere else. It is useless, then, to look to Naples for signs of a flourishing artistic life. The Spaniards also entered Milan when the last, childless member of the ruling house of Sforza died. Milan, however, was already a rich industrial centre, and the people were much better off than their southern compatriots, even though they were obliged to feed and house a large Spanish army. But here, too, artistic life was sterile; there were therefore no monodies published in Milan. Even in those more fortunate parts of Italy which escaped Spanish domination the people were haunted by their conquerors. They consciously adopted Spanish customs. For instance, everybody started dressing in the Spanish fashion; the sombre black which now took the place of the bright colors and jewels of the Renaissance

²²⁹ Fortune, 192.

seemed almost to be the symbol of a people mourning their glorious past.²³⁰

Fortune's distress about the "debasement" of the aria as exemplified in repertories like the *alfabeto* song that cultivated literary genres such as the *villanella* and *canzonetta* was echoed by Gary Tomlinson, who in *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, interpreted Monteverdi's "impulsive" interest in the Chiabreresque *canzonetta* as signaling the demise of the composer's "introspective" compositional potency.²³¹ Although Tim Carter has challenged to great effect Tomlinson's unfair assessment of Monteverdi's poetic choices, his scholarship unveils a tendency to critically evaluate the relevance of popular music such as the improvised tradition of *cantare per arie* as noted in his article on "The Concept of Aria"²³²:

Even if the strategies [of the *arie per cantare* tradition] discerned in Marenzio's "Se il dolce sguardo" are not new to the villanella repertory, the fact that they start to encroach upon more "serious" genres is clearly cause for comment.²³³

Fortune's, Tomlinson's, and Carter's anxiety about so-called "lighter" genres such as the *canzonetta*, *villanella*, and *aria* has filtered into more recent studies that touch on the subject of *alfabeto* songs, including Miller's dissertation on Venetian "monody":

²³⁰ Fortune, 101. All of Fortune's claims for artistic stagnation in Spanish Italy are refuted in Lorenzo Bianconi and Rento Bossa, eds., *Musica e cultura a Napoli dal XV al XIX secolo* and Robert Kendrick, *The Sounds of Milan, 1585-1650* (New York: Oxford, 2002). Regarding Fortune's discussion of the Inquisition and Spanish domination in Italy, he draws from the familiar language of nineteenth and twentieth century historiography that posits Spanish imperialism as the source of the so-called "*questione meridionale*" (i.e. southern underdevelopment). For a history of this discourse see Croce, "Il Paradiso abitato da diavoli"; Giuseppe Galasso, *L'altra Europa. Per un'antropologia storica del Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, revised ed., (Lucca: Argo, 1997); and Nelson Moe, *The View from Vesuvius: Italian Culture and the Southern Question* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 2002).

²³¹ Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance*, see esp. 230-232.

²³² Carter, Review of *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* by Gary Tomlinson, *Early Music History* 8 (1988): 245-60.

²³³ Carter, "An Air New and Grateful to the Ear: The Concept of *Aria* in Late Renaissance and Early Baroque Italy," *Musical Analysis* 12 (1993): 136.

Berti's and Grandi's music, created under the protection of the nobility and presumably for their pleasure, was sheltered for many years from the inroads made by the Spanish guitar in other *canzonetta* collections and musical domains. Implicit in their compositional aesthetic, then, was the fundamental role of the continuo bass line. A consistent bass line liberated the upper voices in polyphonic madrigals, allowing composers more freedom to pursue various modes of text expression, such as the dramatic *scena* of Monteverdi's "T'amo mia vita,"...Though Grandi and Berti used the *basso continuo* in the different, solo *canzonetta* repertory, their preference for this mode of accompaniment hints that they were more concerned with textual expression than was Milanuzzi. Their avoidance of guitar tablature may in fact signal the absence of pre-existing chordal frameworks in their music for solo voice.²³⁴

The overwhelming presence of *alfabeto* songs in the Venetian solo song repertory of the 1620s was a source of ambivalent concern for Miller, a fact that culminates in his characterization of Romano's *Raccolte di bellissime canzonette* as a plagiarized version of posthumous concordances in musically-notated printed sources.²³⁵ The *alfabeto* system itself, more specifically, is a topic of immediate anxiety for Miller, noted in his characterization of the system's theoretical shortcomings and especially in his support of Nigel Fortune's claim that publishers were mainly responsible for adding *alfabeto* to compositions to increase the market appeal of their vocal music publications.²³⁶ For Miller, *alfabeto* is a kind of liability that composers generally sought to avoid; only in the cases of Kapsberger and Milanuzzi, by virtue of their status as guitarists, is Miller willing to accept the possibility that composers intended their compositions to be appended with *alfabeto*.

Italian musicology, on the other hand, has examined the *alfabeto* song repertory with less problematic results. This somewhat sympathetic approach was introduced early

²³⁴ Miller, "The Development of Venetian Monody," 191.

²³⁵ See Chapter 4.

²³⁶ Fortune, 183-188. Miller qualifies Fortune's assessment of printers' business practices in "New Information", 25.

in the twentieth century by Oscar Chilesotti, a scholar known best for his early music transcriptions in the *Rarità musicale italiana* series (on which Respighi based his orchestrations of early music). Writing about *alfabeto* songs in 1909, Chilesotti notes:

<p>...ma pure si segnava con le <i>lettere per la Chitarra</i> Canzoni ad una o più voci scritte col <i>Basso continuo</i>, e semplici poesie delle quali la melodia era notissima o per le quali si citava l'aria in voga da adattarvi. Quest'ultimo caso lascia anche supporre che talora gli accordi, opportunamente variati, fossero destinati a creare una forma artistica speciale, per quanto modestissima, coll'accentare il ritmo poetico o col sostenere l'improvvisazione di un recitativo, di un canto, ecc., a guisa dell'arte dei trovatori antichi e dei cantastorie ormai passati di moda.²³⁷</p>	<p>...there were also inscribed with letters for the guitar songs for one or more voices written with <i>Basso continuo</i>, and simple poems for which the melody was very well known or for which they indicated the fashionable <i>aria</i> [scheme] to use/adapt. This latter case leads one to suppose that at times the chords, suitably varied, were destined to create a unique artistic—though modest—form by accenting the poetic rhythm or by [providing] support for improvising a <i>recitativo</i>, a song, etc., in the manner of the art of the ancient troubadours and of minstrels of ages past.</p>
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Later Italian scholars, although eschewing some the Romantic nostalgia that colored Chilesotti's scholarship, adopted Chilesotti's pretext that *alfabeto* songs occupied an important and worthwhile position in early seventeenth century vocal music practice. This is most evident in the work of Ivano Cavallini, who defended the popularity of *alfabeto* song publications against the negative (and speculative) views of Nigel Fortune.²³⁸ One of Fortune's claims with which Cavallini takes issue includes the notion of a relegation of the guitar to less "refined" performance contexts, to which Cavallini responds with primary source evidence about the guitar's visibility in court performances and "elite" society.²³⁹

More recent studies dealing with the topic of *alfabeto* songs in manuscript (a large and increasing body of material), including the work of authors such as John Walter Hill,

²³⁷ Chilesotti, "Canzonette del Seicento," 847.

²³⁸ Cavallini, "Sull'opera *Gratie at affetti amorosi* di Marcantonio Aldigatti (1627)," *Quadrivium* 19 (1978): 145-94.

²³⁹ Cavallini, 154.

James Tyler, and Sylvia Castelli, have adopted Chilesotti's and Cavallini's stance in their approach to the repertory.²⁴⁰ Hill, in particular, has noted the important roles that the guitar and *alfabeto* notation played in the musical environment of the Montalto court in Rome during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Concluding Thoughts: *Alfabeto* Song and the Incompatability of "Monody"

In many ways, the *alfabeto* song repertory illustrates the problems associated with the (still persistent) usage of the term "monody" and the subsequent classification of early *seicento* song according to the stylistic delineations of *madrigale* and *aria* introduced by Caccini in his *Nuove musiche*.²⁴¹ Such compartmentalization not only oversimplifies vocal music practice in Italy during this time, but it also undermines the array of approaches and strategies such as *alfabeto* inscription available to both composers and performers.

The publication history of the repertory not only challenges the modern historiographical claim to the hegemony of Venetian *alfabeto* song publications, but also to the wider acceptance of the predominance of Florentine-based "new music" models in secular vocal music production in the early seventeenth century. Both the *alfabeto* song's association with noble patron/performers and their presence in manuscripts associated with members of the aristocracy and ruling classes attests to their legacy even among

²⁴⁰ Hill, esp. 57-139; Tyler, *The Guitar and its Music* 37-81; Castelli, 31-7. This last article is part of one of the most recent collections of essays about *alfabeto* in manuscript. Other essays in the book mainly address the issue of *alfabeto* and guitar music, although there are (especially in Castelli's case) places where vocal music is discussed. The Florentine manuscripts discussed at these conference proceedings in 2002 are some of the richest sources of *alfabeto* songs in Italy.

²⁴¹ See for example Tim Carter, "Monody," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy (accessed 8 June 2006) <<http://www.grovemusic.com.content.lib.utexas.edu:2048>>

social groups that cultivated “elevated” models of solo singing such as the solo madrigal and musical drama.

For the purveyors and composers of *alfabeto* songs, adherence to Caccinian models and other musical systems that emphasized compositional control through elaborate musical notation seems not to have been a prime motivation. In fact, the aesthetic premise that characterizes much of the repertory is an outward avoidance (if not rejection) of the florid style of melodic notation that dominates the publications of Caccini. This is effectively illustrated in the *Musiche* books of Sigismondo d’India, where the composer discriminates between *madrigali* and *arie* of the Caccini mold and the unmistakable character of the *alfabeto* song. Naturally this has led scholars to interpret the repertory (or, rather, the practice of *alfabeto* inscription) under the guises of “unwritten” and “oral” traditions.²⁴² While the elusive nature of *alfabeto* notation strongly resonates with such practices, notation and dissemination through the printed medium are still some of the hallmarks of *alfabeto* song tradition. An analogy to lead sheet “fake books” or chord “layouts” that frequent today’s vocal publications (printed and electronic) might serve to convey the dynamics of the “unwritten” and “written” that characterize the repertory. As in the fake book tradition, the harmonic (and sometimes melodic and rhythmic) components of *alfabeto* tunes are presented in incomplete and skeletal frameworks. It is expected that performers have knowledge *a priori* of the language needed to execute a performance, or perhaps need only the more “forgettable” cues of well-known tunes, such as chord progressions and lyrics.

²⁴² See Lo Cicero, 113. Ignazio Macchiarella has also written about unwritten traditions and their predominance in musical cultures unfamiliar with the more “established” language of notation and music theory. See his “Appunti per una indagine sulla tradizione non scritta della musica del XVI-XVII secolo,” in *Ceciliania per Nino Pirrotta*, 97-109.

The unwritten and written disparity that has pervaded this study of *alfabeto* song plays into a much wider cultural discussion about the repertory's associations with Naples and the Italian south. The strong contrast between *alfabeto* song notation and the established tradition of musical notation mirrors similar antitheses between, for example, the economic practices of the south and the north. Scholars such as John Marino, Patrick Chorley, and Paolo Macry have described the marginalized business practices of the *Mezzogiorno*, noting the prevalence of “entrepreneurial huckstering and bartering,” and the practice of establishing contracts between merchants and agricultural sellers *alle voce*.²⁴³ Marino has shown how Naples's “anticapitalist” economic landscape bolstered criticism from early modern Florentine and Venetian merchants and bankers, who recognized the hallmarks of Neapolitan social codes that were central to Neapolitan business—cleverness, friendship, loyalty, and honor—as weak and politically disastrous cultural imperfections.²⁴⁴ The economy of the early modern *Mezzogiorno*, which Marino has dubbed a “trickster” economy, was ultimately the outcome of the contrast between the urban environment and natural abundance of the countryside.

As products of southern culture, *alfabeto* songs counteract “new music” and “*seconda prattica*” ideologies of the northern (and in Naples, the institutional) establishment. Their stark simplicity, degenerative and archaic notational system, and poetic *bizzaria* suggest a strategic “backwardness” (an ubiquitous concept in the historical mythologizing of Naples and the Italian south) when compared to the aesthetic

²⁴³ John A. Marino, “Economic Idylls and Pastoral Realities: The “Trickster” Economy in the Kingdom of Naples,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24 (1982): 224; Patrick Chorley, *Oil, Silk, and Enlightenment: Economic Problems in XIIIth Century Naples* (Naples: Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1965), 83-140; and Paolo Macry, “Ceto mercantile e azienda agricola nel Regno di Napoli: il contratto alla voce nel XVIII secolo,” *Quaderni Storici* 21 (1972): 851-909.

²⁴⁴ Marino, 215.

programs of the *nuove musiche*, *seconda prattica*, *stile moderno*, and other modernizing “progressive” agendas.²⁴⁵ In the north, attitudes about the guitar and musical practices of the lowers and peasant classes are mixed; on one hand, they are seen as inferior and incapable of producing the same effects as nobler musical performers and instruments. On the other hand, their affiliation with pastoral and ancient traditions lend an authentic and natural quality about them that could potentially transcended other musical pursuits. With the popularity of the standardized tradition in later central and northern publications of the 1620s and 30s, *alfabeto* song emerged on the printed music scene in a format that was understood as incompatible with traditions such as the solo madrigal. This did not, however, appear to effect the production of the repertory; on the contrary it surfaced as one of most widely printed secular vocal traditions of its time.

²⁴⁵ Castaldi referred to *alfabeto* as a system of “heiroglyphs”, a reference to the perceived archaic and non-evolutionary aspects of the notation. See Castaldi, 18.

APPENDIX 1. *Alfabeto* Song Prints Published in Italy, 1610-ca. 1665²⁴⁶

- 1610 Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Flammini). *Libro primo di villanelle*
Rome: [n.p.] [1612]. / 4o/ Ded. Girolamo Kapsberger
- 1611 Borlasca, Bernardino. *Canzonette a tre voci... libro secondo*
Venice: Giacomo Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Cardinale Bonifacio Caetano Dignissimo
Legato di Romagna
- 1612 Montesardo, Girolamo. *I lieti giorni di Napoli*
Naples: Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci, ad istanza di Pietro
Paolo Riccio. /8o/ Ded. Don Pietro Ferdinando di Castro
- 1613 Giaccio, Orazio. *Armoniose voci*
Naples: Giovanni Iacomo Carlino [1616, 1618]. /8o/ Ded. Giovanni Francesco
Paulella

²⁴⁶ The following sources were consulted to create this catalogue: Oscar Chilesotti, “Canzonette del Seicento con la chitarra,” *Rivista musicale italiana* 16 (1909); James Tyler and Paul Sparks, *The Guitar and its Music from the Renaissance to the Classical Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); John Walter Hill, *Roman Monody, Cantata, and Opera from the Circles around Cardinal Montalto* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Francesco Passadore, “Una miscellanea di edizioni musicali del primo Seicento” *Fonti musicali italiane* 10 (2005): 7-38; Roark Miller, “The Composers of San Marco and Santo Stefano and the Development of Venetian Monody (to 1630),” Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1993; Silke Leopold, *Al modo d’Orfeo: Dichtung und Musik im italienischen Sologesang des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1995); Gaetano Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo musicale di Bologna*, 4 vols., (Bologna: Romagnoli Dall’Acqua, 1890-1902; reprinted Bologna: A. Forni, 1961); Oscar Mischiati, *Indici, cataloghi e avvisi degli editore e librai musicali italiani dal 1591 al 1798* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1983); Emil Vogel, Alfred Einstein, François Lesure, and Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica italiana vocale profana pubblicata dal 1500 al 1700*, (Pomezia and Geneva: Staderini-Minkoff, 1977); François Lesure, ed., *Recueils imprimés XVIe-XVIIe siècles I: Liste chronologique* (Munich-Duisberg: G. Henle, 1960-); Karl-Heinz Schlager, ed., *Einzeldrucke vor achtzehnhundertm*, 15 vols. (Kassel, Basel, and Tours: Barenreiter, 1971-); Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, 2 vols., (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1919); Mariangela Donà, *La stampa musicale a Milano fino all’anno 1700* (Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1961); Gary R. Boye, “Chronological List of Rasgueado Tablatures” at <http://www.library.appstate.edu/music/guitar/strummed.html> (accessed 1 June 2006); Antonio Mongitore, *Biblioteca sicula, sive de scriptoribus siculus, qui tum vetera, tum recentiora saecula illustrarunt, notitiae locupletissimae*, vol. 2 (Palermo: 1708-14, reprinted Bologna: Forni, 1971); François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Brussels, 1835-44); Francesco Luisi, “Il carro di Madama Lucia et una serenata in lingua lombarda: note sull’attribuzione definitiva a Giovanni Battista Fasolo,” in *Seicento inesplorato: L’evento musicale tra prassi e stile*, ed. Alberto Colzani and Andrea Luppi (Como: A.M.I.S., 1993). Citations include year, composer (editor in parentheses, when acknowledged), folio format (*ottavo/quarto*), printer, dedicatee (with title where acknowledged), and other pertinent publishing information given on the title page, including advertising for bookshops (*libreria*) and sponsorship. Reprints are noted in bracketed dates. The publishing and dedication material of reprints are given when this information differs from that of first editions. In cases where multiple editions by the same composer were issued during the same year, the dates are appended with alphabetical letters. Publishing information for the following prints was taken from the New Vogel and not verified through first-hand contact (lost prints excluded): Borlasca, 1611; Salzilli, 1616a, 1616b; D’Aragona, 1616a, 1616b; Kapsberger, 1630, 1632, 1640; Valvasensi, 1634; Gabrielli, 1638; Ziani, 1641; Milanuzzi, 1643; Anonymous, 1659.

- [1613 Various. *Orfeo. Musiche de' diversi autori*
Venice: Bartolomeo Magni]
- 1616 Sanseverino, Benedetto. *El segundo libro de los ayres*
Milan: Filippo Lomazzo. /4o/ Dirigido Conde Iulio Cesare Borromeo
- 1616a Salzilli, Crescenzo. *La sirena libro secondo*
Naples: Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci, si vendono alla libreria.
- 1616b Salzilli, Crescenzo. *Amarille libro terzo*
Naples: Lucrezio Nucci. /8o/ Ded. Monsignor Francesco Cecchino
- 1616a D'Aragona, Paolo. *Amorose querele*
Naples: Lucrezio Nucci. /8o/ Ded. Don Vincenzo Ruffo, Marchese di Licordia
- 1616b D'Aragona, Paolo. *Soavi ardori.*
Naples: Lucrezio Nucci. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1616 Falconieri, Andrea. *Libro primo di villanelle*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ Ded. Cardinale de' Medici
- 1616 Corradi, Flaminio. *Le stravaganze d'amore*
Venice: Giacomo Vincenti [1618]. /4o/ Ded. Giovanni Cornato, Procuratore di San Marco, Venezia
- 1618 Caccini, Francesca. *Il libro primo delle musiche*
Florence: Zanobi Pignoni. /8o/ Ded. Cardinale de' Medici
- 1618 Giaccio, Orazio. *Laberinto amoroso*
Naples: Giovanni Battista Gargano and Lucrezio Nucci. /8o/ Ded. Giovanni Francesco Paulella
- 1618 Various (ed. Stefani). *Affetti amorosi*
Venice: Giacomo Vincenti [1621, 1623, 1626] [no ded.]
- 1618 Romano, Remigio. *Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette musicali*
Vicenza: Angelo Salvadori [1622, 1624, 1625]. /4o/
- 1619a Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Ferrari). *Libro secondo di villanelle*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ Ded. Kapsberger
- 1619b Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Porta). *Libro terzo di villanelle*
Rome: Robletti. /4o/ Ded. Kapsberger
- 1619 Rontani, Raffaello. *Le varie musiche...libro terzo*
Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi. /4o/ Ded. Conte D. Michele Moroni

- 1619 Falconieri, Andrea. *Musiche libro sexto*
Venice: Stampa del Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni. /4o/ Ded. Odoardo Nannini
- 1620 Colonna, Giovanni Ambrosio. *Il secundo libro d'intavolatura*
Milan: Erede di Giovanni Battista Colonna. Ded. Don Francesco Gallio [1627]
Ded. Fratelli Giovanni Geronimo & Giovanni Battista Motetti [Milan:
Dionisio Gariboldi, 1637]
- 1620 Sanseverino, Benedetto. *Intavolatura facile...opera terza*
Milan: Filippo Lomazzo. Ded. Cleophas Senago [MS additions see Boye]
- 1620a Rontani, Raffaello. *Varie musiche...libro quarto*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, ad instantia di Antonio Poggioli. /4o/ Ded.
Giovanni Battista Matthei, Marchese di Rocca Rinibalda[1625]. /4o/ Ded.
Caterina Manini
- 1620b Rontani, Raffaello. *Varie musiche...libro quinto*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, ad instantia di Antonio Poggioli. /4o/ Ded.
Giovanni Battista Olgiatti, Marchese di Poggio e di Catino [1625] ad instantia di
Antonio Poggioli. /4o/ Ded. Giulio Cesare Castellani
- 1620 Olivieri, Giuseppe. *La pastorella Armilla*
Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi. /8o/ Ded. Cardinal Del Monte
- 1620 Vitali, Filippo. *Musiche...libro terzo*
Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi. /4o/ Ded. Ferdinando Ruccelai
- 1620 Various, (ed. Stefani). *Scherzi amorosi*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti [1622]. /8o/ Ded. Filippo Musotti
- 1620 Landi, Stefano. *Arie a una voce*
Venice: Stampa del Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni. /4o/ Ded. Paolo Savello,
Prencipe d'Albano per Santa Maria Cesarea
- 1620a Romano, Remigio. *Seconda raccolata di bellissime canzonette musicali*
Vicenza: Angelo Salvadori [c.1622, 1624, 1625]. /4o/
- 1620b Romano, Remigio. *Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca*
Vicenza: Angelo Salvadori [1621, 1622, 1625]. /4o/
- 1621a Various, (ed. Giovanni Battista Robletti). *Raccolta di varii concerti musicali*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. Ded. Monsignor Stefano Pignatelli,
Protonotario Apostolico

- 1621b Various, (ed. Giovanni Battista Robletti). *Giardino musicale*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. Ded. Paolo Quagliati
- 1621 Veneri, Gregorio. *Li varii scherzi...libro primo*
Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi, ad'istanza di Paolo Masotti. /4o/ Ded. Dorotea Delfinoni
- 1621 D'India, Sigismondo. *Le musiche...libro quarto*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Conte Feredico Rossi di San Secondo
- 1622 Sanseverino, Benedetto. *Il primo libro d'intavolatura per la chitarra spagnuola*
Milan: Filippo Lomazzo. Ded. Cleophas Senago [MS additions, see Boye]
- 1622 Marini, Biagio. *Scherzi, e canzonette*
Parma: Anteo Viotti. /8o/ Ded. Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duca di Mantova
- 1622 Various, (ed. Giovanni Battista Robletti). *Vezzosetti fiori*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. Ded. Margherita V[ivemi?]
- 1622a Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Bartolomeo Magni. /8o/ Ded. Felice Aleardi
- 1622b Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. F[ra] Daniele Todeschini da Venezia [1625]. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1622 Vitali, Filippo. *Arie a 1 2 3 voci*
Venice: Stampa del Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni. /4o/ Michel Angelo Baglioni, Signor del Morcone
- 1622 Guazzi, Eleuterio. *Spiritosi affetti...libro primo*
Venice: Marca tipografica del Gardano. /4o/ Ded. Cardinal Farnese
- 1622 Rontani, Raffaello. *Le varie musiche...libro sesto*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti, ad instantia d'Antonio Poggioli. /4o/ Ded. Alessandro Del Nero, Signore di Porcigliano
- 1623 Rontani, Raffaello. *Le varie musiche libro primo*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ Ded. Dorotea del Verme [1614 has no *alfabeto*]
- 1623 Giamberti, Giuseppe. *Poesie diverse*
Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi. /8o/ Ded. Monsignor Girolamo Grimaldi
- 1623 Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Pannocchieschi). *Libro quarto di villanelle*
Rome: Luca Antonio Soldi. /4o/ Ded. Kapsberger

- 1623 Romano, Remigio. *Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette musicali*
Venice: Angelo Salvadori [1624, 1625, 1625]
- 1623 D'India, Sigismondo. *Le musiche...libro quinto*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Prencipe Carlo Arciduca d'Austria
- 1623 Ghizzolo, Giovanni. *Frutti d'amore...libro quinto*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Francesco Reloggio
- 1623 Manzolo, Domenico. *Canzonette*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Giovanni Pellegrino Palmieri
- 1623 Various (ed. Stefani). *Concerti amorosi*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Lodovico Magnani Conti di Massa
- 1623 Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Giovanni Battista Bonzi di Padova
- 1624 Aranies, Juan. *Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti
- 1624 Berti, Giovanni Pietro. *Cantade et arie*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Valerio Michiel
- 1624 Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti ["novamente ristampa"]. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1625 Miniscalchi, Guglielmo. *Arie...libro primo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Francesco Premuda[1627]. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1626 Severi, Francesco. *Arie libro primo*
Rome: Paolo Masotti. /4o/ Ded. Duca della Corgnia
- 1626 Romano, Remigio. *Residuo alla quarta parte*
Venice: Angelo Salvadori
- 1626 Anonymous, (ed. Stefani). *Ariette amorose*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti [lost]
- 1626 Grandi, Alessandro (ed. Andrea Ziotti). *Cantade et arie...libro terzo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Francesco Duodo
- 1627 Millions, Pietro. *Prima scielta di villanelle*
Rome: Guglielmo Facciotti. /8o/ Ded. Cavalier Baldassar De Nobili

- 1627 Fasolo, Giovanni Battista. *Barchetta passaggiera*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ [no ded.]
- 1627 Landi, Stefano. *Il secondo libro d'arie musicali*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ Ded. Principessa di Piemonte
- 1627 Aldigatti, Marc'Antonio. *Gratie et affetti amorosi*
Venice: Bartolomeo Magni. /8o/ Ded. Nicolo Rossi, Consigliere et Residente in Venezia
- 1627 Berti, Giovanni Pietro. *Cantade et arie...libro secondo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Giovanni da Ponte
- 1627 Miniscalchi, Guglielmo. *Arie...libro secondo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Padre Don Candido Bencio
- 1627 Obizzi, Domenico. *Madrigali et arie...libro primo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Lorenzo Loredano
- 1627 Colonna, Giovanni Ambrosio. *Scielta de canzonette*
Milan: Per l'her. di Giovanni Battista Colonna. Ded. Signori Fratelli Giovanni Geronimo & Giovanni Battista Motetti
- 1628 Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Il sesto*
Bracciano: Andrea Fei . /4o/ Ded. al Principe e Principessa di Venosa
- 1628 Del Giudice, Cesare. *Madrigali concertati*
Messina: Pietro Brea [lost]
- 1628 Crivellati, Domenico. *Cantate diverse*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ Ded. Monsignor Grimaldi governatore della provincia del patrimonio
- 1628 Fasolo, Giovanni Battista. *Il carro di Madama Lucia*
Rome: Giovanni Battista Robletti. /4o/ [no ded]
- 1628 Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Rizolo Miliari
- 1628 Tarditi, Orazio. *Amorosa schiera d'arie*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Prencipe Don Lorenzo di Toscana
- 1628 Fedele, Giacinta. *Scielta di villanelle*
Vicenza: Francesco Grossi. /8o/ [no ded.]

- 1629 Grandi, Alessandro (ed. Giacomo Grandi). *Cantade et arie...libro quarto*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Antonio Rosa and Paolo Rossi
- 1630 Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Donata) *Libro quinto di villanelle*
Rome: Paolo Masotti. /8o/ Ded. Kapsberger
- 1630 Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Anibale Berni dal Finale di Modena
- 1630 Miniscalchi, Guglielmo. *Arie...libro terzo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Nicolo Rossi, Consigliere et Residente in Venezia
- 1632 Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Tempi) *Li fiori libro sesto*
Rome: Paolo Masotti. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1633 Camarella, Giovanni Battista. *Madrigali et arie*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Sigismono d'Este
- 1633 Pesenti, Martino (ed. A. Vincenti) *Arie a voce sola...libro secondo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Pietro Morosini
- 1634 Various, (ed. A. Vincenti). *Arie de diversi*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti [no ded.]
- 1634 Valvasensi, Lazzaro. *Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori*
Venice: Bartolomeo Magni. /8o/ Ded. Ippolito Valvasone di Manicaio
- 1635 Abatessa, Giovanni Battista. *Cespuglio di varii fiori*
Orvieto: Ad instantia di Giovanni Battista Robletti [1637]. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1635 Marini, Biagio. *Madrigaletti...libro quinto*
Venice: Stampa del Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni. /8o/ Ded. Friderico Duca di Wirtenbergh
- 1635 Fontei, Nicolò. *Bizzarrie poetiche*
Venice: Bartolomeo Magni. /8o/ Ded. Giovanni Vidmano de liberi signori di San Paterniano
- 1635 Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Nicolo Valvasone
- 1636 Fontei, Nicolò. *Bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo*
Venice: Bartolomeo Magni. /4o/ Ded. Giorgio Nani

- 1636 Pesenti, Martino (ed. A. Vincenti). *Arie a voce sola...libro terzo*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Angela Soler
- 1636 Sances, Giovanni Felice. *Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Marchese Pio Enea Obizzi
- 1637 Landi, Stefano. *Il quinto libro d'arie*
Venice: Stampa del Gardano/Bartolomeo Magni. /4o/ Ded. Prencipe Giovanni Carlo di Toscana
- 1638 Busatti, Cherubino. *Arie a voce sola*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Priamo da Lezze
- 1638 Gabrielli, Francesco. *Infermità, testamento e morte*
Verona, Padua, and Parma: [n.p.]
- 1640 Kapsberger, Giovanni Girolamo (ed. Franceschi). *Libro settimo di villanelle*
Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi. /4o/ [no ded.]
- 1640/8 Pesori, Stefano. *Lo scrigno armonico*
[n.p.]. Ded. Marchese Marc'Antonio Sagramosi
- 1641 Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Varii capriccii e canzonette*
Rome: Vincenzo Bianchi. /4o/ Ded. Conte Maffeo Fiubba
- 1641 Laurenzi, Filiberto. *Concerti et arie*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Giovanni Da Pesaro, Cavaliere eletto Procuratore di San Marco
- 1641 Ziani, Pietro Andrea. *Il primo libro di canzonette*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti [lost] [no ded.]
- 1643 Milanuzzi, Carlo. *Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Pietro Alberto Grazioli
- 1644 Busatti, Cherubino. *Settimo libro d'ariette*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /4o/ Ded. Marchese Ottavio Gonzaga
- 1646 Tarditi, Orazio (ed. A. Vincenti). *Arie a voce sola*
Venice: Alessandro Vincenti. /8o/ Ded. Antonio Campagnella
- 1648 Anonymous
- 1648 Pesori, Stefano. *Galeria musicale*
Verona: Giovanni Battista & Fratelli Merli. Ded. Bernardino Gherardini, Marchese di Scurano, Conte di S. Polo

- 1650 Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Prima scielta di villanelle a una voce*
Rome: Vitale Mascardi. /4o/ [no ded.] [1652, 4o Ded. Giovanni Battista Manganoni]
- 1651 Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Seconda scielta di villanelle e una voce*
Rome: Vitale Mascardi ["nuovo ristampe"] [1652]. /4o/ Ded. Carlo Previsano
- 1652 Abatessa, Giovanni Battista. *Intessitura di varii fiori*
Rome and Lucca: i Pieri e Paci. /8o/ [no ded.]
- 1652 Sabbatini, Pietro Paolo. *Prima scielta di villanelle a due voci*
Rome: Vitale Mascardi. /4o/ Ded. Monsignor Carlo Pio tesoriero generale di N.S.
- 1657 Anonymous. *Canzonette spirituali, et morali*
Milan: Giorgio Rolla
- 1659 Anonymous. *Nuove canzonette musicali*
Venice: Giacomo Batti
- 1660 Marchetti, Tomasso. *Il primo libro d'intavolatura*
Rome: Francesco Moneta, si vendono da Giovanni Battista Rossi Milanese in [Piazza] Navona [no ded.]. [anonymous version published Rome: Catalani, 1648]. [no ded.]
- 1661 Millions, Pietro. *Nuova corona d'intavolatura*
Rome: l'Herede del Mancini, si vendono alla Stamperia dell'Herede del Mancini, appresso all'Orat. della S.S. Trinità de'Pellegrini. [no ded.]
- ca. 1665 Marchetti, Tomasso. *D'i[n]tavolatura . . . ?*
R[ome?]: n.p. [no ded; see Boye for details]

Appendix 2: Index of First Lines of *Alfabeto* Songs Published 1610-ca. 1665²⁴⁷

<i>Text</i>	<i>Composer/editor (year)</i>	<i>Collection title</i>
A che più l'arco tendere	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
A ciel sereno	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
A dio mio cor a dio ti lascio	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
A i dilette alle gioie	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
A l' <i>see</i> All'		
A la <i>see</i> Alla		
A le <i>see</i> Alle		
A miei pianti	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
A qualunque animale alberga in terra - <i>Aria da cantar sestine</i>	Landi (1620)	<i>Arie a una voce</i>
A quell ninno que en gaña	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
A ucciglas suaves tenplad las voces	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
A voi sole si canti - <i>I vecchi non odono volentieri cantar d'amore</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Acceso mio core - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Accorta lusinghiera	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Ah ah che pur ti veggio	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Ah Clori ah rabiosetta	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ah cor non sei più mio	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Ah fallace infido Amore - <i>Amore amaro</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ah Filli al tuo bel volto	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Ah ladra d'amore / dammi il mio core	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Ah ladra d'amore / dammi il mio core	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Ah son tradito ferito il mio core	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ahi che mi sento morire	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Ahi che datemi parto anima mia – <i>Partenza</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>

²⁴⁷ Text incipits are based on versification; when concordance appears, a slash (/) indicates a break between the first and second lines of poetry. This has been done to illustrate textual variance or similarity after the first line of concordance. Also in cases of concordances, spellings and contractions have been standardized. For clarity and standardization, commas, periods, colons, and semi-colons have been omitted. Capitalization has been retained/standardized for proper names only. This appendix does not include the settings of the *Canzonette spirituale* (Milan: Rolla, 1957).

Ahi che morir mi sento	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Ahi che morir mi sento - <i>Del sig Francesco Monteverde</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ahi che morir mi sento	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Ahi che morir mi sento - <i>Amante che chiede aita</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Ahi chi mi guida al foco - <i>Amante infelice</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ahi ladra crudele	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Ahi lasso perche fuggi?	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Ahi sò che spargo all'aura	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Al concillo much dexe la gara	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Al dolce mormorar	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Al dolce mormorar	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Al fiero gioco	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Al fonte al prato al bosco	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Al fonte al prato al bosco	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Al mie pias il un'Alban' - <i>Serenta in lingua lombarda</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Al pallor d'un bel semblante	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Al piacer ch'io nodrisco	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Al seren del tuo colto	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Al tuo partir - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Al venir di mia Clori	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Al' mie pias' i cullumbott' - <i>Serenata in lingua lombarda</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Ala luz del dia las aves canta	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
All'antro al poggio alla selva	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
All'armi a l'armi	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
All'ombra alla fonte	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
All'ombra vientene - <i>Invito amoroso</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Alla caccia pastori	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Alla Donna sol piace	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Alla gloria à gl'honori	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Alla guerra d'amor correte amanti	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Alla luce / alla mia candida	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Alla luce / alla mia candida - <i>Aurora</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni</i>

<i>tornate - Invitto pastorale con la sua intavolatura - Gratosissima romanesca e bella</i>		<i>alla romanesca</i>
Alle danze ò voi pastori - <i>Ballo di 3 zoppi</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Alle dolcezze ai canti	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Alle gioie d'amore / t'invita il tuo bene - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Allo sdegno o guerrieri	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Alm'afflitta che fai? - <i>Dialogo a due voci</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Alma che fai che pensi? - <i>Aria napolitana</i>	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Alma che scorgi tù	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Alma fugace	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Alma mia dove te'n vai	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Alma mia dove te'n vai	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Alma mia dove te'n vai - <i>Partita di Donna amata - Arie della folia</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Almen deh dimmi à Dio - <i>Partenza fedele</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Altri gode d'amar	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Altro alfin non è amore	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Altro che sospirar	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Altro non è il mio cor - <i>Disperatione amorosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Ama pur ninfa gradita - <i>Del sig Francesco figlio del Sig Monteverde</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ama pur ninfa gradita	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Amami Clorida - <i>Amor sprezzato</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Amanti Amore	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Amar donna superba - <i>Frutti d'amore</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Amarilli alma del core	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Amarillide deh vieni	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Amarillide deh vieni - <i>Primavera genitrice d'Amore</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Amarillide mia crudel - <i>Fede aborrita</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Amarillide vezzosa	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Amate mie stelle - <i>Occhi sereni</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

Amerai tù mio core	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Ameriai tù mio core - <i>Sdegno amoroso</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Amo bellezza che del mio mal punto	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Amor altri si duol - <i>Amor vitale</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Amor che deggio far / Se non mi giova amar - <i>Amor penoso</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Amor che deggio far / Se Lidia mia crudel	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Amor che deggio far deggio morire?	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Amor che fai	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Amor deh dimmi dì	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Amor diletto - <i>Amante felice</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Amor il mio tormento e la mia fede - <i>Infelicità d'amante - Aria per cantar sonetti</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Amor non è più cieco - <i>Amor cangiato</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Amor non piangere	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Amor non più ferie non più martir	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Amor non posso più	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Amor poi che non giovano	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Amor poi che non giovano	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Amor se per affliggermi	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Amor tiranno Amor	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Amor tiranno / Lungi dal core	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Amore che deggio far	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Amore il mio torment'e la mia fede	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Amore io più non ardo	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Amorosa pargoletta	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Andiann'a i font'a i prati - <i>La Peregrina</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Angioletta leggiadretta	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Angioletta tropp'in fretta - <i>Infedeltà di donna</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Anima del cor mio	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Anima dove sei dov'hai ricetti - <i>Dialogo</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>

Anima tormentata e quando mai	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Annodate e stringete	Marchetti (1660)	<i>Il primo libro d'intavolatura</i>
Apparecchiati su mondati il labro - <i>Premio proposto da Venere a chi le trova Amore</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Apra il suo verde seno	Guazzi (1622)	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
Apri pur Citerea prima dell'alba	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Arcier ch'armato	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Arco cent'occhi havea tù ben lo sai - <i>Occhi homicidi di donna bella - Romanesca bella con la sua intavolatura per la Chitarra</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccotla di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Ard'amore Filli bella	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Arda ma rivelar	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Arder innamorato	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Ardir ardir alla guerra	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Ardo d'Amore e piango	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Ardo e'l mio vivo ardore	Romano (1618)	<i>Prima raccotla di bellissime canzonette</i>
Ardo ma rivelar	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Ardo milla per voi e nell'ardor - <i>Amor fedele</i>	Romano (1620a)	<i>Seconda raccotla di bellissime canzonette</i>
Ardo sì ma non t'amo	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Ardo tacito amante - <i>Musica per cantar sonetti nel Citarone o Chitariglia spagnola - Questa musica è per li primi otto versi del sonetto et si può cantar anco le ottave</i>	Marini (1635)	<i>Madrigaletti...libro quinto</i>
Arma pur di fieraenza il tuo petto	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Arman l'arco	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Armi alla mano - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Armilla anima cara - <i>Madrigale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Armilla ingrata	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Armilla ingrata	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Armilla ingrata	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Armilla mia le luci - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Augellin che'l tuo Amore	Landi (1620)	<i>Arie a una voce</i>
Aura che qui d'intorno	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>

Aure amoroze - <i>All'aure</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Aure liete aure vezzose	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Aure placidi e volanti - <i>Amante timido</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Aure vaghe aure gioconde	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Aure vaghe aure gioconde	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Aure vaghe aure gioconde	Rontani (1620b)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quinto</i>
Aure vaghe aure gioconde	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Aurette lascivette ch'al crin d'oro	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Aurilla mia	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Ay que contento - <i>Amante felice - Vilanella spagnola</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Baccho ò Baccho portator d'allegrezza - <i>Serenata in lingua lombarda</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Baci rari e graditi	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Baci soavi e cari	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Bacianne Aminta mio	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Begl'occhi lucenti	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Bel fior ch'à l'Alba aprì	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Bell'è'l ciel bell'è'i sol	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Bella Aurora - <i>Aspettata amante</i>	Romano (1618)	<i>Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Bella Clori eh non partire	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Bella Clori non fuggire - <i>Estivo traffullo</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Bella fanciulla dal' viso rosato	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Bella Filli crudele - <i>Filli crudele</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Bella Filli Filli cara - <i>Amante non amato</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Bella Filli io son ferito	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Bella Fillide mia mentre cantando	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Bella mia nemica d'amor	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Bella mia questo mio core - <i>Amante felice - Sopra l'aria della Ciaccona</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Bella sì ma tropp'altra	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Belle e vezzosa	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Belle ninfe al prato al prato	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Belle rose purpure	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>

Bellissima Mirtilla	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Bellissima vaghissima	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Beltà non ho nè bramola - <i>Desiderio di bontà</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Ben ch'in van chiedi'io mercede	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Ben che in me giri	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Ben fuggir - <i>Aria</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Ben m'aveggo o bell'ingrata	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Ben mio tù fai se'l core - <i>Amante fedele</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Ben sai tù ch'io t'adoro	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Ben tù potrai crudele - <i>Fedele amante</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ben'è ver ch'ei pargoleggia - <i>Scherzo d'amore</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Benche Filli ogn'hor m'affaglia	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Bionda mia bella - <i>Bionda bella</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Bionde chiome lacci d'oro	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Bionde chiome o lacci d'oro	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Bocca cara perchè avara mi sei tù?	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Bocca ridente	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Bocca ridente	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Bona notte mio core	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Bona sera	Fedele (1628)	<i>Scelta di vilanelle napolitane</i>
Breve è la vita Amor	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Calata per cantare	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
Caldi sospiri ch'uscite dal core	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Caldi sospiri ch'uscite dal core	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Candidetta reina	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Cangia cangia tue voglie - <i>Balletto</i>	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
Canta la cicaletta	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Cara Armilla mio bene primo amor - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Cara dolce amorosetta	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Cara è la rosa e vaga	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Care aurette	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Care luci che vaghezza	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>

Care treccie aurati stami	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Cari lacci d'amore	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Caro labro vermigiletto	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Caro mio ben	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Celai per lungo tempo - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Cerca ò mio cor pietà	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ch'amor sia nudo e pur con l'ali al tergo - <i>Canzonetta per cantare sopra la Chitarra spagnola</i>	Caccini, F. (1618)	<i>Il primo libro delle musiche</i>
Ch'io mora?	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ch'io non t'ami cor mio?	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ch'io sospiri al vostro foco	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Ch'io sospiri al vostro foco	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Seconda scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Ch'io t'ami e segua più?	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Che dirrà si io moro la crudel	Fedele (1628)	<i>Scelta di vilanelle napoletane</i>
Che fai tù	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Che farò dolce mio ben	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Che farò donna ingrata	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Che giova pur a me	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Che mi giova penare	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Che mi val che tù m'ami	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Che pietà sperar si può	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Che più pensi o mio core	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Che poter pensi	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Che sia dentro al mio core	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Che sia vero mi dite - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Che spem'haver	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Che speravi o mio cor?	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Che speravi ò mio cor?	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Seconda scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Che? Vorrò dunque amar chi non ha fede - <i>Madrigale</i>	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Chi brama contento qua giù	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Chi brama gioire	Laurenzi, Filiberto	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Chi con lima pungente - <i>Amante geloso</i>	Romano (1618)	<i>Prima raccotla di bellissime canzonette</i>
Chi con lima pungente	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>

Chi crede ch'io v'ami	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Chi desia di saper che cosa è amore	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Chi desia di saper che cosa è amore - <i>Canzonetta per cantare sopra la Chitarra spagnola</i>	Caccini, F. (1618)	<i>Il primo libro delle musiche</i>
Chi di dentro m'accende - <i>Amor nodrito frà contrarij</i>	Romano (1618)	<i>Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Chi di dentro m'accende - <i>Del sig Gio Pietro Berto Musico della Serenissima Signoria</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Chi di te più crudel	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Chi fuggir amor desia	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Chi fuggitivo Amor	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Chi m'affrena chi mi lega	Landi (1620)	<i>Arie a una voce</i>
Chi mi porge	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Chi mirar desia bellezza	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Chi nel regno almo d'Amore	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Chi non fa cosa sia Amor	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Chi non ride quando gioca	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Chi non t'ama cor mio - <i>Madrigale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Chi piange e chi sospira	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
Chi prend'amor a gioco - <i>A Giuseppe Antonino - Questa cantata sia portata adaggio</i>	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Chi può mirarvi	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Chi può mirarvi	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Chi sa amar a tacer mercede accetti	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Chi sarà che di me	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Chi scherza con amore	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Chi spera sol nel mundo	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Chi vidde mai	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Chi vuol acqua purissima	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Chi'è si un bacio e melnegasti	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Chiudete l'orecchie	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Chiudi ò Filli	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Cieco egli mai non fù	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Cinta di rose	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>

Cinto ho l'alma sì forte	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Cinto il sole di rai	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Clori apparve sì bella a gl'occhi miei	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Clori bella	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Clori bellissima il cor mi stempera	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Clori che d'un cor	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Clori che d'un cor	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Clori crudele - <i>Giovine crudele divenuta vecchia</i>	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Clori mia Clori vezzosa	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Clorida	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
Colei che del mio mal' empia se'n ride - <i>Corrente</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Come fugace è L'aura	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Come lasciarmi puoi s'io sono il segno	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Come m'ami tù Clori	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Come potrò giamai vivo scampare - <i>Il principio di questa canzone si canta à battuta stretta - Fortuna contraria</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Come sì m'accendete anima mia	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Come vezzosa	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Con al mia donna Amor s'è congiurato - <i>Amorosi contrarij</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Con amoroso incanto	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Con leggiadre parolette	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Con quella viperetta	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Con un dolente ohimè	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Con un dolente ohimè	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Con voi parlo begl'occhi	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Consenti pur - <i>Balletto</i>	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Consenti pur - <i>Desiderio d'amante</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Cor mio che pensi tù	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Cor mio la tua partita	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Cor mio s'altrui si crede - <i>Fedeltà in amare</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Cor mio se questa fera	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>

Cor mio se questa fera	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Cor mio vostro è il mio core - <i>Madrigale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Coron le fiere belue - <i>Amorose preghiere</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Correte all'aura venite	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Correte all'aura venite - <i>Per Laura - Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Correte ai fiori pastori	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Correte pescatori	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Così languando vò	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Così languendo accoromi	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Così mi fuggi - <i>Ninfa fuggitiva</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Così Nilio cantò fuor	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Così timido Amante - <i>Timor d'Amante</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Così và - <i>Scherzando con Amore s'innamora</i>	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Cotogniella - <i>Aria veneziana</i>	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
Crederò ma per qual fede	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Cruda è proterva	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Cruda è proterva	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Cruda signora - <i>Crudeltà biasmata</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Crudel amor a che mi stratij tanto?	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Crudel così tradirmi - <i>Fede tradita</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Crudel ove ne vai - <i>Donna fedele</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Crudel tù vuoi ch'io mora?	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Crudele che vo tù	Abatessa (1652)	<i>Intessitura di varii fiori</i>
Crudeltà cogl'amanti	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Crudo arcier pene	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Cuor mio tù sei un fuoco - <i>Donna che accenda il foco nel petto de gli amanti & in se stessa è fredda d'Amore - Un'altra romanesca bellissima per la chitrara</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccotla di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
D'angelica bellezza	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
D'aspro dolor	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
D'una guancia alma ridente	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>

Da canori passaggi	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Da giusto sdegno di macchiata fede	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Da grave incendio oppresso	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Da grave incendio oppresso - <i>Chiede lagrime a' gli occhi per estinguer foco d'Amore</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Da la ruota degl'anni	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Da le lusinghe homai - <i>Amante fedele à donna infedele</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Da le lusinghe homai	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Dal ciel d'amor seren	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Dal ciel d'amor seren - <i>Per Laura</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Dal ciel il nome tiene	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Dal giardino d'amore	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Dal molle seno	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Damigella tutta bella	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Datemi pace o duri miei pensieri	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
De l'aura lieta l'amoroso fiato	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
De mis tormentos y enoso - <i>Osos en mirar dañosos</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Debbo amar chi me disama	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
Deh che veggio ohimè - <i>Partenza dura</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Deh cieli inteneritevi	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Deh com'in van chiedete	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Deh consoli il mio tormento	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Deh dolce anima mia	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Deh ferm'il volo	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Deh ferm'il volo	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Deh Filli vientene	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Deh Filli vientene - <i>Beltà di Filli</i>	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Deh foss'io fera un giorno - <i>La sdegnosa</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Deh fuggit'incauti amanti	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Deh fuggite	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Deh girate luci amate	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Deh lasciami languire	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>

Deh mio piagato - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Deh mira o Filli	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Deh non credete nò	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Deh non credete nò	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Deh per pietate	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Deh perchè tant'è	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Deh perchè tant'è - <i>Donna bella e crudele - Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Deh scoprite - <i>Aria</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Deh torna Clori mia	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Deh vaga mia Clori	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Deh venite à veder la bella Clori	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Deh volgetemi il guardo	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Deh volgetemi il guardo	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Del palazzo amoroso	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Della città fuggendo i gravi ardori	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Dhe <i>see</i> Deh		
Di meste mammolette	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Di mia Dori	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Di non amar disposto	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Di veder stava il cieco	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Dica ognun ch'io son amante - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Diceno alchuni che solu la mortu	Fedele (1628)	<i>Scelta di vilanelle napolitane</i>
Digame un requiebro galanama	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Dilettosa l'aria gira amorosa	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Dimmi cor mio dolente - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Dimmi Filli mio ben	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Dimmi già che novello	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Disgombrasti pur il velo - <i>Amore innaghito</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Disperato dolore	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Dispietata crudel	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Distillate occhi dolenti	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Dite ch'io canti io canterò	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>

Dolce aurette ch'a l'herbetta - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Dolce è languir - <i>Penar soave</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Dolce è languire	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Dolce Filli tutta bella	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Dolce mia vita - <i>Prieghi d'Amante</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Dolce riso che nel viso	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Dolce spirito d'amore	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Dolce spron nel tuo stral	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Dolci miei sospiri	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Dolci sospiri	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Dolorosi sospiri	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Donna bella deh pace	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Donna il dir ch'io non v'ami	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Donna ingrata senz'amore	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Donna ingrata senz'amore - <i>Amor sventurato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Donna non sol tù m'hai ferito il core	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Donna non vi sdegnate	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Donna superba ch'hai d'oro le trezze	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Donna se voi il tuo ritratto	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Donna voi vi credete	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Donne che vi pensate	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Donne intendo che quest'anno - <i>Peste amorosa</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Donzelletta lascivetta - <i>Amor sollecito</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Donzelle ch'il ben seno	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Dorinda mia face	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Dorinda mia face	Camarella (1633)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Dormite pensieri - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Dov'io credea le mie speranze havere - <i>Amante tradito</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Dov'io credea le mie speranze havere	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Dov'io credea le mie speranze havere	Millioni (1627)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Dove donna veloce hor volgi il	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>

piede?

Dove dove ahime risplende il mio bel sol - <i>Lontananza penosa</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Dove dove sei gita	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Dove dove son iti tanti piacer	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Dove dove ten vai / Deh non fuggir Armilla - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Dove dove ten vai / Rigidetta vezzosa - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Dove dove ten vai / Rigidetta vezzosa	Veneri (1621)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Dove il foco s'anida	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Dove io credei - <i>Aria</i>	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Dove n'andrò che non mi segua Amor	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Dove n'andrò dolente - <i>Si finge un'anima disperata per amore</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Dove son le promesse	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Due fresche rose	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a due voci</i>
Due soli ch'un bel viso - <i>Felice nascita do core amante</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Due vaghe stelle	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Dulce det den si el danno que me hacen	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Dunque Aminta	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Dunque Cloirda mia per questi prati	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Dunque dovrò sol io veder - <i>Balletto</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Dunque hai tù dato il cor - <i>Donna di più amanti</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Dunque il mio fido amore - <i>Tradito amante</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Dunque il mio fido amore - <i>Amante tradito</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Dunque partir deggio - <i>Madrigale</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Dunque sempre a un fiero strale - <i>Canzon baccante</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Dupon monamì	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
E ben ver ch'io t'amai	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
E che lungi da voi - <i>Romanesca</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
E che pensavi tù	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
E felice amatore	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>

E Lidia il vostro seno	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
È morta la pietà	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
E pur ancora lusingando vai	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
E pur convien	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
E pur di novo ahi lasso	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
E pur partir - <i>Partenza dura</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
E pur partir - <i>Partenza penosa</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
E pur partir	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
E pur stolto chi crede - <i>Fedeltà de l'amata</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
E pur torno a cantar Lilletta ingrata	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
È pur vago un dì sereno	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
È sì grave 'l tormento	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
È sì grave il tormento	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
E tornato il mio ben	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
E tū credi è tū pensi	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
E tutta tua quest'alma	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
E virtù de lumi ardenti	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
E vivere e morire	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
E viver e morire - <i>Scherzi d'amanti</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Ecco bella cagion de l'arder mio	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Ecco che pur al fine	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Ecco che pur al fine	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Ecco che pur al fine - <i>Amante fatto libero</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Ecco che pur bacciate	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ecco che tutto langue - <i>La vecchia cortigiana</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ecco del bello	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Ecco di dolci raggi il sol armato	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ecco eccomi scorto - <i>Diaologo per 2 canti e strumento</i>	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Ecco Filena - <i>L'Allegra</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Ecco il di cara mia vita - <i>Ballo</i>	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
Ecco l'alba o di l'aura che è la squilla - <i>Madrigale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Ecco l'alma mia bella - <i>Bellezze</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>

traditrici

Ecco l'alma mia bella - <i>Disuasione ad amare</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Ecco la primavera	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Ecco Lidia mia bella - <i>Tiranide amorosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Ecco Maggio degl'amor - <i>Balletto a tre sopra il Maggio</i>	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Ecco pur ch'à voi ritorno	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a due voci</i>
Ecco Silvio colei	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Ecco sorge la bell'alba	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Ecco sorgon gl'arbori - <i>Caccia amorosa descritta in un pastorale invito di caccia materiale - Bella romanesca musicale con intavolatura alla spagnola</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccotla di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Ecco torna l'Aurora	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Ecco un legato d'Amore - <i>Amante ferito</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ecco un legato d'amore	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Ed è pur ver	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Empio cor più non ti credo	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
En dos lucietes estrellas - <i>Romance</i>	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Esci sospir - <i>Partenza crudele</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Esta resta con Dio	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Et ecco pur - <i>Sonetto</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Eurilla ò core ò vita - <i>Lontananta dolente</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Fabbricator d'inganni	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Falsi sospiri e finti	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Falsi sospiri finti	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Fanciullo arciero	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Fatemi guerra pur quanto vi piace	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Felice chi vi mira	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Felice il girono - <i>Core sciolto</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Felice possessor - <i>Possesso amoroso</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Felici gl'animi	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Ferma ferma hai non percottere	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>

Ferma ferma non pecottere - <i>Dolce sonno</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Ferma il bel piede	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Fermate homai fermate in queste rive	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Fia mia ve vedo in stato - <i>Veneziana - Sopra l'aria di Catte</i>	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Fiamma del mio cor - <i>Amor geloso</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Fia il prato senza fiori	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Fiati angosciosi	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Figlio dormi dormi figlio	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Figlio dormi dormi figlio - <i>Bellissimo scherzo intavolato alla spagnola</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccotla di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Filli ascoltami	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Filli ascoltami	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Filli ascoltami	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Filli ben sommi	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Filli cara	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Filli che di dolore	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Filli da tuoi bei sguardi	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Filli filli ben mio	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Filli filli non t'amo	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Filli mia mi dice Amore - <i>L'amante irresoluto</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Filli mia pena	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Filli per altro amante	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Filli quell'aure crespe - <i>Bellezze di O - Aria per cantare ottava</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Filli se morto	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Filli tu parte ahi parte del cor mio	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Filli vezzosa	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Filli vezzosa – <i>Pietà bramata</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Filli vita del mio core	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Fillid'è forza homai	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Fillide bella	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Fiori stelle d'Aprile - <i>Madrigale di Girolamo Ferrari</i>	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>

Fiorite valli	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Fioriti monti - <i>Sdegno amoroso</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Fioriti poggi ombrose vall'amene	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Flora più vaga	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Folgorar con guardo altero	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Folle folle chi crede	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Folle mio core dove volando vai? – <i>Dialogo</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Folle quell'alma	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Folti boschetti	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Fontane rose e fiori	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Fonte d'eterno	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Fonti del mio dolor occhi lucenti	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Fra mortali alma beltà	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
Fresche aurette vezzosette	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Fresco ruscel	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Fu colpa de begli occhi	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Fugge il verno de' dolori	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Fuggi fuggi crudele - <i>Arietta</i>	Rontani (1620b)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quinto</i>
Fuggi fuggi dolente core	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Fuggi fuggi dolente core	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Fuggi fuggi l'inganno	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Fuggi fuggi lontano	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Fuggi fuggi mio cor	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Fuggi o cor il terreno e vano amor – <i>Lauda</i>	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Fuggi sprezza o mio core	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Fuggi sprezza o mio core	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Fuggiam fuggiamo	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Fuggimi pur si vuoi	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Fuggir pur mi convien	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Fuggir voglio chi mi fuggi – <i>Corrente</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Fuggirò la ria crudel	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Fuggite amanti quest'ingrat'e bella	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Fuggite pur crudi martir - <i>Amante sciolto da laci d'Amore</i>	Romano (1618)	<i>Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>

Fuggite pur crudi martir	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Fuggitiva d'amore	Abatessa (1652)	<i>Intessitura di varii fiori</i>
Fuggitivo io t'ho pur colto	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Fuggo Amor	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Fulminate accesi lampi	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Fuor del mio petto	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Fuor del regno d'amor	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Gelido core	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Già che il mio fuoco e spento	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Già che non son Adone	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Già che per hor'intenerir	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Già di bella nemica un solo sguardo	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Già di Turca rubella - <i>Madrigale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Già languide dal ciel cascan le stelle	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Già risi del mio mal mentre sperai	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Già t'è noto crudel / Che per te si distrugge	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Già t'è noto crudel ch'hormai son morto - <i>Servitù non gradita</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Già vezzosa	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Giammai non tese amore - <i>Bellezze della S.O.C.</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Gigliada mi che gigli spargi e fiori	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Gioisca per contento	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Gioite danzate	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Gioite gioite / Di mille tormenti	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Gioite gioite / Di mille tormenti - <i>Amante</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Gioite gioite / Di mille tormenti	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Gioite gioite / Di mille tormenti - <i>Balletto</i>	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Gioite meco ninfe	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Gioldin gioldin fin che poden chustentà - <i>Parole sentite a cantare da doi contadine furlane et poste in musica dell'autore</i>	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Giovan'ingrata a chi t'ha l'alma data	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Giovanetta ritrosetta	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>

Giovanetta vezzosa - <i>Fugasi amore</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Giovanetta vezzosa - <i>Amante appassionato</i> - <i>Aria per cantare e suonare con la chitarra</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Giovanetta vezzosa	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passeggera</i>
Giovanette ascoltate	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Gira il nemico - <i>Assalto d'amore</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Gite ardenti sospiri	Fedele (1628)	<i>Scelta di villanelle napolitane</i>
Giunto il sole in occidente	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Gl'anni fioriti - <i>Vecchi cantatrice</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Godete amanti	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Godi crudel - <i>Crudeltà di donna</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Godi Filli al mio languir	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Godi pur col nuovo amante	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Godi pur col nuovo amante - <i>Amante sdegnato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Gran folia di Pittor	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Gravi tormenti amore	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Guance amante dispiegate - <i>Bel volto di</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Guance amante dispiegate - <i>A Don Michiele Clarencis</i> - <i>Questa cantata sia portata con battuta larga</i>	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Guarda che fai	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Hai pur al fine	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Hai vinto ragione	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Havran pur fine i lunghi	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Herbe fiorite	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ho sì stretto il cor legato	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Ho' pur d'oro il crin anch'io	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Ho'l cor ferito	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Hoggi appar' il sol - <i>Ritorno de l'amata</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Hor ch'a miei danni	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Hor ch'amorosi accenti	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Hor ch'ho dal core	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Hor ch'io non seguio più il dispietato	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>

Hor che d'ardore	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Hor che fatto ha partita	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Hor che fiorita	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Hor che gl' Augelli - <i>Trastuili amorosi</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Hor che l'alba lampeggia	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Hor che l'alba lampeggia	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Hor che la nott'ombrosa - <i>Eccho</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Hor che mi val crudel	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Hor che più non mi sfaccio	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Hor che temprato raggio - <i>Rubella d'amor - Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Hor che vicini mi sento	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Hor com'in un momento	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Hor dite un poco - <i>Residuo</i>	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Hor godete d'Amore - <i>Amore sdegnato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Hor meno lieti i giorni	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Hor non mi struggo	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Hor tra l'aure e tra fiori - <i>Invito e scusa</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Hora canusco - <i>Aria Siciliana - Posta ad istanze del P.F. Seraphino Spinelli da Fabriano</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Hora s'à tanti - <i>Amorosi nodi</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Hormai la notte in giro	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
I' see Io		
I bei guardi che m'incendono	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passeggera</i>
I bei legami - <i>Balletto</i>	Guazzi (1622)	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
I falli miei	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
I miei guardi e i miei sospiri - <i>Amante timido</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
I nostri voti i ciel	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
I ruscelletti / Vivi cristalli - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
I ruscelletti / Vivi cristalli	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Il bacio è'l più bel dono - <i>Concertato</i>	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Il cor ferirmi	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Il di seren - <i>Privatione di B.D.</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

Il mio ben Lilla	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Il mio cocente ardore	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Il mio cor nutrirà vivo sua fè – <i>Balletto</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Il mio stolto rival - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Il mio stolto rival	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Il più pungete strale	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Il prato ameno	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Imparate da me la sofferenza - <i>L'amante sofferente</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
In amor non ho fortuna - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
In dir volea ch'ad una	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
In questa riva ombrosa	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
In questa verde riva	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
In questo duro scoglio	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
In te la vita	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
In van lusinghi in van prometti e giuri	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
In van lusinghi in van prometti e giuri	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
In van lusinghi in van prometti e giuri	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
In van ti lagni o bella - <i>Voglia d'oro in un dente di O. Madrigale Ad istantia di D. Vincenzo Aquino</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Inchinatevi o fiori	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Ingrata disleali ed incostanti - <i>Donna incostante - Aria siciliana</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Io canto ogn'hor dolente	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Io ch'armato fin'hor d'un duro gelo	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Io credea che trà gl'amanti	Guazzi (1622)	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
Io già spiro io già mi moro	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Seconda scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Io già spiro io già morire	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Io moro di desio	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Io moro occhi leggiadri	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Io non bramo la vita	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Io non restato - <i>Vergine lungo tempo servita e da altri goduta</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>

Io non vedrò mai - <i>Madrigale di Donato Core napolitano amico nio carissimo</i>	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Io non vò pianger più - <i>Balletto</i>	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Io non volo et ho l'ale	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Io parto dal tuo viso o mio tesoro	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Io per voi piango e sospiro	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Io pur saper vorrei	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Io pur ti miro	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Io sò ben che 'l mio servite	Abatessa (1652)	<i>Intessitura di varii fiori</i>
Io son preso e ferito	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Io tento in van	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Io tutta foc' Amor - <i>Donna abbandonata</i>	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Io vò cercando di fare all'amore	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
Io vò cercando un core - <i>Del sig Antonio Granata</i>	Robletti, ed. (1622)	<i>Vezzosetti fiori</i>
Io vò cercando un core	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Io vò morir / Amanti poi che l'empia	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Io vò morir / Non sia alcun che di vita mi ragioni	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Io vò morire per non più penare - <i>Amor penoso</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Io voglio amare	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Io voglio sospirare - <i>Spirituale</i>	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Io vorrei pur fuggir - <i>Amor legato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Io vuò gioir Amanti	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Ite dolenti	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Ite sospiri miei / Ite voland'al ciel- <i>La dispietata</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Ite sospiri miei / Ite voland'al ciel	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Ite sospiri miei à ritrovar	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
L'alba cinta di fiori	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
L'alba cinta di fiori	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
L'alma mi struggi	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
L'alma mi struggi	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

L'altra nott'al far del goirn' - <i>Serenta in lingua lombarda</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
L'amante vero	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
L'aurate Fila ammiro - <i>Bella mana di O.</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
L'aureo crin	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
L'onda che limpida	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
La bella amante	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
La bella Dori	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
La Intullurù	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
La mia bella pastorella	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
La mia cara pastorella	Landi (1620)	<i>Arie a una voce</i>
La mia Clori amorosa - <i>Costanza amorosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
La mia Filli il mio bella	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
La mia Filli la cruda	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
La mia Filli vezzosa	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
La mia leggiadra Filli	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
La mia ninfa leggiadra	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
La mia superbetta	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
La mia Turca che d'Amor	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
La Norcina - <i>per cantare</i>	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
La notte sorge	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
La pastorella mia	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
La primavera sen riede	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
La speme e un cuor amante è buona	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
La tua guerr'è cagion de la mia pace	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
La vezzosetta Aurora	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
La violetta ch'in su l'herbetta s'apre	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
La vita alberga	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Labbra vivace	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Ladra ladra d'Amore	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Ladra ladra d'Amore	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Lagrima tutte amare	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Lagrimosa pietà	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Languendo mi sto per cruda beltade	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Languidetta amor mio	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>

Languirò d'Amor se l'empia - <i>Amante languido</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Languisca pur contento - <i>Amor maturo</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Lascia lascia le fiere	Abbatessa (1635)	<i>Cespuglio di varii fiori</i>
Lasciatemi qui solo	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Lascivette pastorelle	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Lasso ben m'accorg'io che dall'inferno - <i>Sonetto</i>	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Lasso me dove gite - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Lasso mi fà languire	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Lauretta mia quando m'accese - <i>Bellezze di Laura</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Le pramatiche novelle - <i>La burlescha</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Le vaghe ninfe - <i>Scherzo di ninfe</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Leggiadri occhi sereni - <i>Occhi sospirati</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Lidia che 'l mio cor	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Lidia che del mio amore	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Lidia che fia di me	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Lidia più non ti voglio	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Lidia s'appressa il giorno - <i>Partenza amorosa</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Lieti fuggiamo	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Lieti verdi fiorite e fresche valli - <i>Madrigale</i>	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Lilla cor mio - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Lilla cruda che veggio	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Lilla infedel ohimè	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Lilla mio cor mio ben mia vita e mia desir	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Lilla sorda a miei prieghi	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Lilla sol è'l mio ben	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Lilla te ci hò pur colta	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Lilla vezzosa	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Lilla vorrei partir - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Lilietta ch'un dì	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Lilietta della - <i>Gagliarda</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Lo stral ch'avventa amor	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce</i>

		<i>sola...libro primo</i>
Lontan dal tuo bel volto	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Luci belle luci ingrato	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Luci belle luci ingrato - <i>Aria in Ciaccona</i>	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Luci care luci belle	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Lucidissimo Sole - <i>Canta Uranio pastore il fortunato suo giorno delle nozze con la bella Hyelle</i>	Landi (1620)	<i>Arie a una voce</i>
Lunge da questo sen	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Lungi da te men vò	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Lungi lungi è amor da me	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passaggiera</i>
Lusinghiero infido amore - <i>Amante abbandonato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Mai più durò d'Amor	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Mai più durò d'Amor	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Margarita / Ben che m'aletti	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Mentre brunetta m'invita à cantar - <i>Aria aggiunta</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Mentre del mondo	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Mentre haveste d'oro 'l crin	Rontani (1620b)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quinto</i>
Mentre la notte al suo bel manto il lembo	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Mentre pomposa	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Mentre sdegnasti amarmi	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Mentre torna – <i>Sonetto</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Mentre vivo lontano	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Mi ferite	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Mi fugge mi strugge	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Mi lega amor	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Mi parto e nel partir ti dico amore – <i>Partenza</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Mi parto hai forte ria	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Mi vuol lasciar	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Mia Lilletta - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Milla bellissima - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Mille dolci parolette	Guazzi (1622)	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>

Mille scherzi e canti belli	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Mille scherzi e canti belli	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Mille volte incostante	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Mio desir	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Mira Armilla ritrosetta	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Mira che fa costei	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Mira cruda mia	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Mira la bella aurora	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Mira mira che la rosa	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Mira quel pesce mira come a l'esca – <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Mira quel pesce mira come a l'esca	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Mirate à ch'io son giunto	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Mirinda mia	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Misera me dunque - <i>Romanesca</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Misero amante io vivo - <i>Rimproverata fede</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Misero che fia di me	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Misero com'esser può	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Mitigate il rigor lumi feroci	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Miza gala sus paños en que uga i tuerze	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Morir lieto e contento - <i>Aria à 2</i>	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Morirò per te mio ben	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Navicella che à bel vento	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Ne per tempo o per loco	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Negatemi crudele	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Negatemi crudele - <i>Amor Finto</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Negatemi pur cruda	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Nel gioco d'amore	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Nelle pene ch'io sento	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Nidi cari e lucenti	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Ninfa bellissima	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Ninfa crudele	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Ninfa gentile	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Ninfe e pastori - <i>Dialogo pastorale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>

Ninfe vezzose e belle - <i>Amoroso invito di pastori alle sue ninfe</i>	Romano (1618)	<i>Prima raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Ninfe vezzose e belle - <i>Amoroso invito</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
No no no non burlar meco	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
No no non t'amo più	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
No no più non t'amo	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Non ardu chiù non ardu com'ardia - <i>Amante sdegnato - Aria siciliana</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Non bram'altro il mio cor	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Non cercar	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Non credete a donne mai	Marchetti (1660)	<i>Il primo libro d'intavolatura</i>
Non credete a donne mai	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Non credete amanti non credete al duol	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Non credete ch'io v'ami lasso e ch'io - <i>Sonetto recitativo</i>	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Non è mercede	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Non è mercede - <i>Donna crudele</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Non è più tempo nò	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Non fia che più mi fidi - <i>Arietta</i>	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Non ha doglia maggiore	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Non ha donzella amore - <i>Donzella saputa</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Non havea Febo	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Non mai così lucente	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Non maledico io nò	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Non mi dar più tormento	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Non mi lasciar mai più	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Non mi negar aita	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Non pensar bella Filli	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Non perch'io taccia è lieve il mio tormento	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Non più con mesti accenti - <i>Pianto amoroso</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Non più con mesti accenti	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Non più d'Amore	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Non più laccio mi cinge	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Non più lagrime no non più sospiri	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>

Non più pena - <i>Core sciolto – Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Non più sdegno nè dispetto	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Non più sospiri felice mio cuore	Fedele (1628)	<i>Scelta di vilanelle napoletane</i>
Non più morte cor mio	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle</i>
Non posso più soffrir / Così acerbo martir - <i>Amore insopportabile</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Non posso più soffrir / Si grave duol si gran martir	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Non primavera fiori	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Non può ferir Amor	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Non può vestito - <i>Felicità humana</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Non ridi non fuggi non t'ascondi tù - <i>Donna schermitrice</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Non sa che sia dolor	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Non sa che sia gradir	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Non saettar più amore	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Non segu' Amor chi senza forte nasce	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Non sei più bella	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Non si creda ad'amor	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Non sì pomposa - <i>Sonetto (NV)</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Non sì può soffrir ohimè - <i>Del sig Gio Giacomo Porro - Organista dell'Altezza Serenissima di Savoia</i>	Robletti, ed. (1622)	<i>Vezzasetti fiori</i>
Non sì può soffrir ohimè	Abatessa (1652)	<i>Intessitura di varii fiori</i>
Non si rida del mio stato	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Non si scherzi con Amore	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Non si scherzi con Amore	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Non son già sguardi ohimè - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Non son già sguardi ohimè	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Non son tanta già mai	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Non son tuo non sei mai	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Non son tuo non sei mai	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Non state più in pensier anima mia - <i>Amante sdegnato</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Non ti lascio Eurilla mia	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Non vedi tù come io	Fedele (1628)	<i>Scelta di vilanelle napoletane</i>

Non voglio amare	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Non voglio amare - <i>Vano il fuggire Amore</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Non voglio amare - <i>Del sig Nicolò Borboni</i>	Robletti, ed. (1622)	<i>Vezzosity fiori</i>
Non voglio amare	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Non voglio esser amante	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Non voglio più seguire	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Non voglio più seguire	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Non vol più languir	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle</i>
Non vuoi ch'io t'ami - <i>Donna incostante</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Nova fiamma d'amore	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Nova fortuna	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Novi rai lampeggiano	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Nudo Arciero	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
O begl'occhi che guerrieri	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
O begl'occhi che mirate	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
O begl'occhi che safiri - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
O begl'occhi di Sole	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
O begl'occhi o belle chiome - <i>Vaneggiamenti amorosi</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
O begl'occhi o belle chiome	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle</i>
O begl'occhi o belle stelle - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
O begl'occhi o chiare stelle - <i>Occhi amorosi</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
O begl'occhi vezzosi	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
O bei labri rubinetti	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
O bei lumi	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
O bei lumi / O raggi ardenti - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
O bell'occhi <i>see</i> O begl'occhi		
O bella che fuggi	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
O bella e vaga Flora	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
O bella sì mà fera	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O belli occhi <i>see</i> O begl'occhi		
O bellissima – <i>Aria</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
O bellissimi capelli	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>

O ben sparsi sospiri	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
O biondetta lascivetta	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
O biondetti lasciavetti	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
O bocca vezzosa	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O bocca vezzosa	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
O cara libertà	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
O cara palma	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
O care selve	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
O che bel stare vicino al mare	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
O che bel fronte	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
O che bel fronte	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O che felice giorno	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
O che felice sorte	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
O che gradita	D'India (1623)	<i>Le musiche...libro quinto</i>
O che stato penoso	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
O ciel che mi nasconde	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
O Clorida / Già che s'adornano - <i>Donna ritrosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
O Clorida se i colli infiorano	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
O Clorida / Vaga e gentile	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O colli o monti - <i>La Pastorale</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
O come è vaga - <i>Bella mano di O.</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O come è vario amor	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
O come fuggono	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
O come lieta và - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O come superbetta	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
O come và precipitoso un core - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O con ragion	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
O core pensoso	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
O cuori ben legati	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
O d'un bel crin vagante - <i>Madrigaletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O da fila canore - <i>Bella mano</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
O da fila canore	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
O de' dolori miei - <i>Forza d'occhi</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime</i>

bellissimi

O del cielo d'amor
 O del cielo nero velo
 O del foco d'amore
 O del mio caro - *Aria di romanesca e di zeffiro*
 O di glorie chiara parole
 O di raggi e di fiammelle
 O di raggi o di fiammelle - *Arietta*
 O di raggi o di fiamelle
 O Dio che veggio? - *Cantata sopra il passacaglio*
 O Dio qual pene io sento
 O dolce'aura o dolci venti - *Fedeltà non conosciuta*
 O dolci sguardi
 O dolci sospiri - *Arietta*
 O dolcissima saetta

 O dolcissimo viso - *Amante lontano della amata donna*
 O donzella tutta bella

 O felice quel giorno
 O felice quel giorno
 O Filli bella
 O Filli del mio cor fiamma novella
 O Filli vientene
 O fortunati giorni ove mortali - *Mercurio*
 O fortunato martire
 O fronte serena
 O fronte serena
 O gioia de mortali - *Aria*
 O giorno avventuroso
 O giovinetti mentre Aprile e Maggio - *Aria*
 O graditi miei caldi sospiri
 O infelice colui che s'innamora - *Vilanella che si può cantare nella*

D'India (1623)
 Ghizzolo (1623)
 Salzilli (1616a)
 Severi (1626)
 Landi (1627)
 Severi (1626)
 Olivieri (1620)
 Millioni (1627)
 Pesenti (1633)
 Vincenti, ed. (1634)
 Stefani, ed. (1618)
 Kapsberger (1619b)
 Olivieri (1620)
 Berti (1624)

 Romano (1623)
 Aldigatti (1627)

 Montesardo (1612)
 Vitali (1622)
 Ghizzolo (1623)
 Salzilli (1616a)
 Kapsberger (1619b)
 Montesardo (1612)
 Falconieri (1619)
 Falconieri (1619)
 Kapsberger (1619a)
 D'India (1623)
 Landi (1620)
 Camarella (1633)
 Manzolo (1623)
 Marini (1635)

canzonette

Le musiche...libro quinto
Frutti d'amore...libro quinto
La sirena libro secondo
Arie...libro primo

Il secondo libro d'arie musicali
Arie...libro primo
La pastorella Armilla
Prima scielta di villanelle
Arie...libro secondo

Arie de diversi
Affetti amorosi canzonette

Libro terzo di villanelle
La pastorella Armilla
Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo
Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette
Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo
I lieti giorni di Napoli
Arie...libro quarto
Frutti d'amore...libro quinto
La sirena libro secondo
Libro terzo di villanelle
I lieti giorni di Napoli

Musiche...libro sexto
Libro primo di villanelle
Libro secondo di villanelle
Le musiche...libro quinto
Arie a una voce
Madrigali et arie

Canzonette...a una e due voce
Madrigaletti...libro quinto

Chitariglia

O leggiadri occhi belli - <i>Occhi crudeli</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
O lingua che girata	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
O luci amate	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
O mar tant'ira	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
O mar tant'ira - <i>Amante accorto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O me dolente	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O mia felice	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
O mia filli gradita	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
O mia leggiadra e vaga pastorella	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
O mia vita o mio core	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
O miei gravi sospiri	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
O mio bene o mio tesoro - <i>Morte e vita</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
O mio cor che di spene	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
O mio cor che di spene	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
O mio cor che di spene	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
O mio core che novello - <i>Amor fuggitivo</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
O nocchier ch'in questo lido	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
O pargoletta amori	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
O perduti di letti	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
O perle lucenti	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
O piant'o selv'ombrese - <i>Arietta</i>	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
O primavera gioventù dall'anno	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
O qual gioia nel petto mi stà	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
O quando il labro ti bacio	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
O quante volte hò detto	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O quanti cuori ò quanti - <i>Alla terza</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
O quanti errore e Tenebre – <i>Spirituale</i>	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
O quanti furon brevi - <i>Dolore nel partire della sua donna</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
O rosetta che rosetta	Robletti (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
O se d'eccelso Alloro - <i>Gloriosi fregi di B. D.</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
O se d'un sguardo sol	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

O sguardi lusinghieri	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
O sol degl'occhi chiari - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
O sospiro amoroso	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
O stelle omicide arcieri dei cori - <i>Arietta</i>	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
O string'aventurata - <i>Concertato</i>	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
O vaga tortorella - <i>Per cantare nella Chitariglia</i>	Marini (1635)	<i>Madrigaletti...libro quinto</i>
O vezzosetta dalla chiome d'oro	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
O vita soavissima	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
O voi ch'intorno alla grimoso canto - <i>Romanesca - Pianto funestro</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
O voi tutti ch'amate la mia Clori	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Occhi belli al primo sguardo	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Occhi belli ma fieri del bel regno	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Occhi belli occhi cari - <i>Per cantare nella Chitariglia</i>	Marini (1635)	<i>Madrigaletti...libro quinto</i>
Occhi belli occhi guerrieri	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passeggera</i>
Occhi belli occhi i crudeli	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Occhi belli occhi sereni	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Occhi belli occhi sereni	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Occhi belli ond'il mio core	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Occhi belli saette d'amore - <i>Lacci amorosi</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Occhi d'amor rubelli	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Occhi ladri d'amor	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Occhi miei che vedrete?	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Occhi miei di che godete	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Occhi miei pur sapete	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Occhi miei tristi - <i>Dialogo con gl'occhi</i>	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Occhi morte del mio core	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Occhi nido d'amore	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Occhi occhi miei cari	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Occhi ridente	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Occhi rubelli del regno d'Amore	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Occhi rubelli del regno d'Amore	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Occhi rubelli del regno d'Amore	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>

Occhi se sette i giri onde il mio nume- <i>Sonetto</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Occhi un tempo a la mia vita - <i>Canzon baccante</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Occhi vaghi occhi lucenti	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Occhi vibrare	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Occhietti amati	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Occhietti amati	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Occhietti amati	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Odi Euterpe il dolce canto	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Odoroso gelsomino	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Odoroso gelsomino	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Ogni finta dolcezza	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Ogni finta dolcezza	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Ogni giorno tù mi di - <i>Spirituale</i>	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Oh con quanta vaghezza - <i>Cantata à voce sola</i>	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Ohimè ch'io cado - <i>Del sig Claudio Monteverde</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ohimè ch'io pur non oso	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Ohimè che far deggio	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Ohimè che far deggio - <i>Breve contento d'Amante abbandonato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Ohimè che langue il cor	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ohimè che t'hò fatt'io - <i>Fuggitiva</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Ohimè come farò - <i>La faceta</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Ohimè e qual novo in sen	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Ohimè quant'è felice	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Ohimè son cose	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Oimè <i>see</i> Ohimè		
Onde che mormorate - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Oscurando i suoi sembianti	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Ove fuggi ove vai	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Pace pace ò crudel	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Pallidetta bizzaretta	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Pallidetta qual viola	D'India (1621)	<i>Le musiche...libro quarto</i>
Para risibir at Lisa - <i>Romance</i>	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>

Pargoletta che non sai - <i>Ninfa sconoscente</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Pargoletta che vai	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Pargoletta vezzosa / Pargoletta amorosa - <i>Amante innamorato di pargoletta ritrosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Pargoletta vezzosa e ridente - <i>Piaga innocente</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Parlando la mia dea - <i>Concertato</i>	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Parten las galeras llevan	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Parto nel mio partir - <i>Partenza</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Passò l'ardore - <i>Amante dispietoso pentito</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Passò l'ardore - <i>Amante pentito</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Pastor io che non vò	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Pastorella gentile	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Pastorella ove t'ascondi	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Pastorella ove t'ascondi - <i>Arietta</i>	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Pastorella ove t'ascondi - <i>Arietta</i>	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Pazzarella	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Peccai Signor peccai	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Pensamientos altos fortuna	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Per due vezzosi lumi	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Per gioia del mio cor - <i>Amoroso desio</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Per gl'occhi miei di tua beltà passò	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Per pietà del mio gran duol	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Per pietà del mio gran duol	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Per pietà delle mie pene	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Per pietà delle mie pene	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Per questa vita giuro	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Per tue gioi - <i>Vita solitaria</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Per un morso trant'ira?	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Perchè cruda ogn' hora più	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Perchè fuggi ristrosetta	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Perchè fuggi un tuo fedel	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Perchè l'alba i chiari	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>

Perchè mi fuggite o crudele - <i>Amante fuggitiva</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Perchè mi mirate si poi	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Perchè non credi al mio pianto - <i>Amante fedele - Bellissimo scherzo intavolato alla spagnuola</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Perchè segui afflitto core	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Perchè segui Filli amata	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Perchè taci cor mio - <i>Amante tacito</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Perdano i lampi suoi	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Pescatrice ligurina	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Piagate amori	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Piagate amori - <i>Velen d'amor vitale - Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Piaghe d'amor	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Pianget'occhi piangete	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Pianget'occhi pingete	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Pianget'occhi piangete - <i>Tradita bellezza</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Piango de miei diletta	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Piansi un tempo arsi è gelai	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Pietate occhi pietate	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Pietate occhi pietate	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a due voci</i>
Pietosi allontanatemi	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Pietosi allontanatevi	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Più del mio amore non senti - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Più dolce il guardo / Ver me non gira	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Più lieto il guardo / Ver me non gira	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Più lieto il guardo / Ver me non gira	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Più lieto il guardo / Ver me non giri	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Più non amo più non ardo	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Più non bramo nè risi	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Più non credete	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Più non ho non ho cor io - <i>Amante senza core</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Più non t'amo Aminta ingrato	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Più non t'amo desio crudel	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>

Più non t'amo e desio crudel	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Più non t'amo e non t'adoro	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Più non vò non voglio amore	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Poi ch'a baciàr n'invita	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Poi ch'a miei pianti	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Poi ch'al fido amor mio	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Poi ch'attendi ogn'ora bramosa cara	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Poi ch'hai schernito	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Poi ch'ho sì gran dolore	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Poi ch'io vidi al mio martir	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Poi che la bella fera	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Poi che la crud'è fera - <i>Amor gelato</i>	Various (Stefani)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Poi che non val contro	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Poi che non val gridar	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Poi che rotta è la fede	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Poi che senti il mio dolore	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Poi che vol amor	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Poiche <i>see</i> Poi che		
Poiche a <i>see</i> Poi ch'a		
Poiche al <i>see</i> Poi ch'al		
Pompa mortale tù non m'allett'il sen	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Prendi amor l'arco e gli strali – <i>Arietta</i>	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Prendi deh prendi il volo	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Prendi deh prendi il volo	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Prendi deh prendi il volo	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Preso l'onde tranquille	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Promette amor	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Puo 'l suo crin che scherza e fere	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Pupilette vezzosette / Dolci pene del mio cor - <i>Occhi oggetto del core</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Pupilette vezzosette / Se mirat'il cor beate	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Pupillette lucenti	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Pupillette / Non ancidete	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Qual alga è in questa riva	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>

Qual cadavero spriante i begli occhi	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Qual per me stella sì rea	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Qual stato esser può mai	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Qual vago canto il pregio	Rontani (1620b)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quinto</i>
Quand'amor <i>see</i> Quando amor		
Quand'il <i>see</i> Quando il		
Quando'io <i>see</i> Quando io		
Quando a noi mostra Fille	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Quando amor dentr'un cor	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Quando amor dentr'un cor	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Quando amor mi ferì	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Quando amor ti vidd'estinto	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Quando dentro il tuo seno	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Quando dentro il tuo seno - <i>Amorosi contrarii</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Quando fuor del chiuso tetto	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Quando il ciel mi fè soggetto	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Quando il sol	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Quando io vissi il tuo diletto	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Quando l'alba in oriente	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passeggera</i>
Quando miro 'l mio sol quel ch'adoro	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Quando premieramente - <i>L'amante sfacciato</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Quando Rinaldo invitto	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Quando torni - <i>Arietta</i>	Rontani (1620b)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quinto</i>
Quando tra suoi rigori	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Quando tù mi guardi e ridi	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Quando un'anima havrai	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Quanto più cruda sete - <i>Pietosa fierezza</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Quanto più cruda sete	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Quanto più miro la vaga mia stella	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Quanto t'inganni amor - <i>Cantata</i>	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Quasi intrepida Amazzone	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Quel bacio che mi date	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>

Quel core quel core - <i>Cor mentito</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Quel core quel core - <i>Cor mentito</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Quel foco ond'io tutt' ardo	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Quel rosignol ch'in si soavi accenti	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Quel sol che luce parve	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Quell'haver sempre da piangere	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Quell'infedele lingua	D'India (1621)	<i>Le musiche...libro quarto</i>
Quell'infedele lingua - <i>Occhi finestre del core</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Quella beltà ch'ardori	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Quella luce che s'indorò	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Quella rosa sì vermiglia	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Quelle dolci parolette	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Quelle lacrime finte	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Questa cruda m'ancide	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Questa cruda m'ancide	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Questa ingrata	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Questa mia aurora che m'innamora - <i>Qualità di D amante - Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Questa piaga mi sia sempre nel core - <i>Aria di romanesca</i>	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Questa piaga mi sia sempre nel core - <i>Aria per cantar ottave</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Questa piagha mi sia sempre nel core	Colonna (1627)	<i>Scielta de canzonette</i>
Questa tenera angioletta - <i>Villanella che si può cantare nella Chitariglia</i>	Marini (1635)	<i>Madrigaletti...libro quinto</i>
Queste doglie e martiri	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Quest'è pur quella notte	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Questi son quei begl'occhi	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Questo crudele	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Questo qui non sono i pianti	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Qui la sete	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Qui si vive in gioie - <i>Cantar d'amore</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Quien menoscaba mis benes? - <i>Pruebas de amor estrañas</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Quien menosiaba mis bene? -	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni</i>

Pruebas de amor estrañas - Aria per cantare e suonare con la Chitara all Spagnuola

alla romanesca

Raccogli in giro	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Raccogli in giro	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Raddoppia anima mia raddoppia i baci - <i>Sonetto</i>	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Rallegrati o core	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Rapitemi feritemi	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Rapitemi feritemi	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Rapiti baci	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
Rasciugate	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Rest' amor Filli a Dio	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Resta resta con Dio	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Ria mercè falsa fè - <i>Rotta fede</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ridete meco amanti	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Ridete meco amanti	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Ridono i prati	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Rigida Eurilla	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Rimirate	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Risolviti ò mio cuore	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ritorna al tuo pastor smarit' Agnella - <i>Spirituale</i>	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Ritrosetta e bella Clori - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Ritrosetta fastosetta	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Romane romane - <i>Canzonetta nova per cantare & suonare con Chitarra alla Spagnola</i>	Romano (1620a)	<i>Seconda raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
Rompalo sdegno le dure catene - <i>Sdegno guerriero</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Rompi o mio core / Quell'amoroso laccio	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Rompi mio core / Quell'amoroso laccio	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Rondinella peregrina	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Rott'ho la fè spietata	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Rubinetti lascivetti - <i>Labri Di O</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Rubinetti lascivetti - <i>Bei labri</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>

Rugiadose van l'aurette	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
S'a la gelata mia timida lingua	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
S'alcun vi giura	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
S'alcun vi giura - <i>Libertà catenata</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
S'altrui splend'il mio sole più tosto - <i>Dialoga Filli e Clori</i>	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
S'amor e cieco non può'l vero scorgere - <i>Pentimento amoroso</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
S'annidano	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
S'aventino strali	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
S'è ver la tua partita	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
S'io fossi un giorno	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
S'io men vò si'io men vò	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
S'io miro il bel volto della mia Filli	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
S'io non raggiro il piede	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
S'io non spargo per voi - <i>Amorosa imprecatione</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
S'io son dolente ohimè	Pesenti (1633)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
S'io sospiro e s'io piango	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
S'io ti seguo ogn'hor - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
S'io ti seguo / Mi fuggi tù	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
S'io ti bacio ritrosetta	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Sa sospir finti s'a mentiri pianti	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Sai che trafitto da pungente ortica	Valvasensi, Lazzaro	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Saione	Carbonchi (1640)	<i>Le dodici chitarre spostate</i>
Saria pur tempo amor	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Schiera d'aspri martiri - <i>Madrigale</i>	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Sciocco e stolto rival	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Sciolta il crin rotta i piani e nuda il piede- <i>Bella mendica - Sonetto</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Sciolto da lacci il piè	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Sconsolato dolor	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Sdegno ohimè dove sei - <i>Di Francesco Maria Melvi romano</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Sdegnosetta Mirtilla	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Se bel rio se bell'auretta	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Se beltà col crin disciolto	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>

Se ben rose celesti nel bel viso	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Se brami hormai	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Se credete ch'io	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Se duo cor un foco infiamma	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Se già 'l tuo sguardo	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Se già gran tempo amanti	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Se già tuo sgrado	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Se io <i>see</i> S'io		
Se la vita ti dono	Pesenti (1636)	<i>Arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Se m'amasti t'amai	Abbatessa (1635)	<i>Cespuglio di varii fiori</i>
Se mai t'offese	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Se mi fugite vi seguo	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Se mille facelle	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Se nasce in cielo - <i>Di Guglielmo Miniscalchi Venetiano</i>	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Se non hai di ferro il core - <i>Amorose preghiere</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Se partite sdegnose	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Se per haver contento	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Se per l'oro d'un crine	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Se per onta di quel foco	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Se per voi è'l cor di cenere - <i>Occhi crudele</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Se per voi s'arde e si more	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Se pietade in te non trovi	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Se pietade in voi non trova	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Se pietose voi sete	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Se ridete gioiose	Tarditi	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Se rivolg'in me serene - <i>Desio di morte amorosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Se spiagar miro il sole	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Se tal'hor di stille amare - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Se terrena beltà passa e non dura - <i>Eternità d'amore - Aria della romanesca</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Se ti convien penare	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Se tosto recano	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>

Se tù nieghi ò ria beltà - <i>Pietà bramata</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Se tù non vuoi	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Se tù senta pietà	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Se v'armate di rigore - <i>Vano protesto d'amante</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Se vedesti le piaghe	Rontani (1622)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro sesto</i>
Se vedesti le piaghe	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Se venere dal ciel quà giù scendesse - <i>Bellezza esquisita di amata... - Aria per cantare & suonare non la chitara alla Spagnuola</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Se voi donne intendeste la tirannia - <i>Povertà di spirito nelle donne</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Se'l cor non ho com'esser può ch'io viva	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Se'n gode mia Clori	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Segui amoroso core	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Segui dolente core	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Semplicetto e quel cor	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Sempre dite	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Sempre guerra guerra sempre	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Senso fallace	Kapsberger (1640)	<i>Libro settimo di villanelle</i>
Senti che novi accenti - <i>Bella ritrosa - Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Sento lo strale	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Serpe rigida	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Sfere fermate li giri sonori	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Sfortunata chi mi consola - <i>Lamento di Madama Lucia con la risposta di Cola</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Sguardo lusinghiero	Fasolo (1627)	<i>Barchetta passeggera</i>
Si ben mustru di fora tutto yelu - <i>Amore celato - Aria siciliana</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Sì che mi pento d'haverti seguito	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Sì ch'io vorrei fuggire	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Si dolce è il tormento - <i>Amor costante</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Si dolce è il tormento	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Sì dolce è il tormento	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>

Si si ch'io mi pento	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Sì sì ch'io t'amo e t'adoro - <i>Fedele amante</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Signora tanto v'amo	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Signoria mi desidero	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
So che finto è quel guardo - <i>L'adulation gradita</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Sò che l'occhio sà ferir	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
So guardi chi può	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Soavissime voci	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Soccorretemi tutti	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Soccorso ahime ben mio	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Soccorso ohimè ben mio	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Socorri amore - <i>Pene amorose descritte</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Son ancor pargoletta	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Son caduti al fine i fiori	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Son d'altrui le luci ardenti - <i>Gelosia</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Son giochi scherzi e vezzi	Manzolo (1623)	<i>Canzonette...a una e due voce</i>
Son tutto tutto ardore - <i>Amante timido</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Sonino scherzino	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Sono d'amor i frutti	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Sono intricato	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Sono lacci donne belle	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Sono lacci o donne belle	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Sorga da l'onde	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Sorge lucente	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Sospiri tormentosi	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Sospiro sì	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Sostien diletta mia ch'a mio diletto	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Sotto aspetto ridente	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Sotto aspetto ridente - <i>Amante tradito da sua Donna</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Sotto un ombroso Faggio - <i>Squazzato di Colasone</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Sovra un fonte cristallino	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Sovra un fonte cristallino - <i>Amor</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

insidioso

Sparite dal Core	Laurenzi (1641)	<i>Concerti et arie</i>
Spento hà le faci amore	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Speranze non partire - <i>Di Fra Giovanni Domenico Rutulini scolaro del signor Sabbatini</i>	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Speravo amante	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Spiega la vela nocchiero	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Spiega la vera nocchiero	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Splendete splendete - <i>Occhi amati</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Splendor degli occhi miei	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Sprezzami bionda e fuggimi	D'India (1621)	<i>Le musiche...libro quarto</i>
Sprezzami bionda e fuggimi - <i>Amor costante</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Sprezzami bionda e fuggimi	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Spiriti celesti e santi	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Spunta la rosa	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Stanca del mio penar	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Stava Olindo assiso a fronte	Guazzi (1622)	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
Stavasi assisa Clori	D'Aragona (1616b)	<i>Soavi ardori</i>
Stelle che ornate il Cielo - <i>Martire sfogato</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Stelle ridenti e lieti - <i>Pastore adolorato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Stelle vezzose	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Stravaganza d'amore	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Sù desta i fiori	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Su l'ali dell'inganno - <i>Presto</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Su l'herbe assisomi	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Su la fiorita sponda	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Su la riva del mare	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Su la sponda del Tebro humida erbosa - <i>Sonetto</i>	Rontani (1623)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro primo</i>
Su pastorelle vezzose	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Su su contra costei fa guerr'amore	Giaccio (1618)	<i>Laberinto amoroso</i>
Sù sù destati Clori - <i>Aria</i>	D'India (1623)	<i>Le musiche...libro quinto</i>
Sù sù lieti cantate	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce</i>

		<i>sola...libro primo</i>
Su su lieti cantate	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Su su ninfe su pastori all'ombra	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Sù sù pastorelli	Various (Vincenti)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Su venite innamorati	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Suffurate venticelli	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Superba e troppo altiera	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Superbetta la mia vita	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Superbetta sei pur colta	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Superbetta sei pur colta - <i>Amante che invita la sua Donna à piacere nel Giardino</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Suspiri miei che d'havra in hura siti - <i>Arie per cantar ottave siciliane - Amoroso querelle</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Suspiri miei che d'hora in hora siti - <i>Sospiri amorosi - Bellissimo scherzo intavolato alla spagnuola di ottave ciciliane</i>	Romano (1620b)	<i>Terza raccolta di bellissime canzoni alla romanesca</i>
Susurrare aure volanti	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
T'amai gran tempo	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
T'amerò più che mai	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
T'amerò più che mai	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Taci mia lingua taci - <i>Consiglio amoroso</i>	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Tante gratie il cielo adorno	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Tante guerre e tanti danni	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Tante volte mi burlò quella bocca - <i>La schernitrice</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Tanto lagrimarò fin che'l tuo core	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Tanto sdegno ha'l cor di sciolto	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Te'n fuggi mia vita	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Ti lascio Filli ingrata	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Tirannetta del mio core	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Tirinto mio tù mi feristi - <i>Ninfa abbandonata</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Tirinto mio tù mi feristi	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Togliti da gl'ochhi miei -	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

Appassionato amante

Tormentateme pur quanto bramate - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Torna a la fiamma antica	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Torna Clori mia bella	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Torna di novo alla sua fiamma antica	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Torna di nuovo a riverir	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Torna il sereno zefiro	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Torna ostinato core - <i>Amore rinovato</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Torna sereno / Di gioia pieno - à 2	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Torna torna ò mio ben - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Tornate pur sospiri - <i>Amante disperate</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Trà due negre pupillette - <i>Alma tormentata</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Tra mortali – <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Tra quest'ombre - <i>Dialogo per tre ninfe</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Trà queste di terror	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Trà queste piante soletto	Guazzi (1622)	<i>Spiritosi affetti</i>
Trà queste selve - <i>Concerto amoroso</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Traditorella che credi	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Traditrice lusinghie	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Traffitto il sen da rigido tormento	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Traffitto il sen da rigido tormento	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Seconda scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Tre ninnas me dan enosos - <i>Amor incierto</i>	Stefani, ed. (1620)	<i>Scherzi amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>
Tronca l'indegno	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Troppo ingrato sarei troppo infedele	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Troppo ingrato sarei troppo infedele- <i>Romanesca</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Troppo troppo fedele	Grandi (1626)	<i>Cantade et arie a voce sola...libro terzo</i>
Troppo troppo fedele - <i>Cor risoluto di non voler più amare</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>
Troppo troppo fedele	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Tu mi dici ch'io moro	Aldigatti (1627)	<i>Gratie et affetti amorosi canzonette...libro secondo</i>

Tu mi lasci o cruda o bella	D'India (1621)	<i>Le musiche...libro quarto</i>
Tu mi vorresti morto	Fontei (1636)	<i>Delle bizzarrie poetiche...libro secondo</i>
Tu mia Filla m'hai ferito - <i>Dialogo Tirsi Filli</i>	Falconieri (1619)	<i>Musiche...libro sexto</i>
Tu non hai provato amor - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Tu non hai provato amore - <i>Esperienza amorosa</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Tù non provar amore	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Tu non vuoi Lilla crudele	Veneri (1621)	<i>Li varii scherzi</i>
Tu sciogli - <i>Sonetto</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Tu sei foco e non m'accendi - Strano accidente in bella donna	Fontei, Nicolò	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Tu sei pur bella o cara	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Tu sei pur bella / Vezzasetta	Giamberti (1623)	<i>Poesie diverse</i>
Tu trà fiori vezzasetta	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Tu vedi alato arcier	Landi (1637)	<i>Il quinto libro d'arie</i>
Tu vuoi chiedere o core - <i>Silentio loquace</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Tuo danno sia - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Tuo danno sia - <i>Sdegno</i>	Milanuzzi (1623)	<i>Terzo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Tutte le viste o mai son fatte accorto	Rontani (1620a)	<i>Varie musiche...libro quarto</i>
Tutto pronto al piacere	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Uccellatori - <i>Diaologo - L'Uccellatrice</i>	Fontei (1635)	<i>Bizzarrie poetiche</i>
Udiste udiste o core - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Udite meraviglie	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Udite o belle sfere	Busatti (1638)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Udite o selve i miei crudi martiri	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Un farao de la chacona se hizo el mes de las rosas - <i>Chacona</i>	Aranies (1624)	<i>Libro segundo de tonos y villancicos</i>
Un fermo sasso non cesso pregar	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Un laccio amabile	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Un pitocco d'amor chiede pietà	Marchetti (1660)	<i>Il primo libro d'intavolatura</i>
Un riso m'inamora un guardo mi saetta - <i>Arietta</i>	Milanuzzi (1643)	<i>Nono libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Un sol bacio per pietà	Tarditi	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Un sospiretto sol	Miniscalchi (1625)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Un sospiretto sol - <i>Picciola mercede richiesta</i>	Romano (1626)	<i>Ressiduo quarte parte</i>

Un sospiretto sol	Crivellati (1628)	<i>Cantata diverse</i>
Una volta fui al mare - <i>Serenta in lingua lombarda</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Uscite pur dal seno	Sabbatini (1641)	<i>Varii capricci...libro settimo</i>
Usurpator tiranno	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Ut re mi fa so la dove - <i>Scherzo boscareccio</i>	Milanuzzi (1622a)	<i>Primo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Ut re mi fa sol la dove - <i>Scherzo pastorale</i>	Romano (1623)	<i>Nuova raccolta di bellissime canzonette</i>
V'amai se voi m'amaste	Landi (1627)	<i>Il secondo libro d'arie musicali</i>
Va va ch'io non ti credo	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Vadino pur i pianti	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Vado altronte - <i>Lontonanza</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vaghe chiome allettatrici	Busatti (1644)	<i>Settimo libro d'ariette</i>
Vaghe ninfe	Grandi (1629)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro quarto</i>
Vagheggiando le bell'onde - <i>La galante</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Vagheggiando le bell'onde	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Vagheggiate onde marine	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Vaghi amanti che bramante - <i>Bellezza di donna amata</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>
Vaghi gigli al ben candore	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Vaghi raggi deh venite	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Vaghi rai di ciglia ardenti	Rontani (1619)	<i>Le varie musiche...libro terzo</i>
Vaghi rai di ciglia ardenti	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Vaghi rai lucente stelle	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scielta di villanelle</i>
Vaghi rai pupille ardenti - <i>Aria</i>	Tarditi (1646)	<i>Arie a voce sola</i>
Vago augel par che tenti	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Vanne cruda - <i>Balletto</i>	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vanne Dori	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Vanne v�� ti fida o mio core	Milanuzzi (1635)	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vanne vanne infedel	Milanuzzi (1630)	<i>Settimo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vanne vatten' Amor - <i>Cantata</i>	Milanuzzi, Carlo	<i>Ottavo libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vattene Filli v�� ladove Clori	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vedermi fr�� catene	Pesori (ca. 1648)	<i>Lo scrigno armonico</i>
Vedete la mia luce	Kapsberger (1610)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Vedilo vedilo l��	Milanuzzi, Carlo	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vedovella tutta bella	Milanuzzi (1624)	<i>Quarto scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>

Vedrò mio sol – <i>Madrigale</i>	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Venticel gratissimo	Kapsberger (1630)	<i>Libro quinto di villanelle</i>
Vezzose Pastorelle - <i>Amoroso invito</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Vezzosetta e bella Clori	Vitali (1620)	<i>Musiche...libro terzo</i>
Vezzosetta mia pargoletta	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Vezzosetta Pastorella – <i>La strattosa</i>	Montesardo (1612)	<i>I lieti giorni di Napoli</i>
Vezzosetta Pastorella	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Vezzosetta ritrosa	Miniscalchi (1627)	<i>Arie...libro secondo</i>
Vezzosette e care	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Vezzosette e care	Kapsberger (1619a)	<i>Libro secondo di villanelle</i>
Vezzoso amore	D'Aragona (1616a)	<i>Amorose querele</i>
Viemmi passa Caronte - <i>Contrasto d'un'anima e Caronte</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Vien le notte fugge'l dì - <i>Parte l'amato bene</i>	Miniscalchi (1630)	<i>Arie...Libro Terzo</i>
Vieni Clori vezzosetta - <i>Arietta sopra Ruggiero</i>	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Vienne pace gentil	Kapsberger (1623)	<i>Libro quarto di villanelle</i>
Vienni Lavinia bella - <i>Invita la sua D à goder le bellezze di Posilipo</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Violette belle	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Vita mia s'hai pur voglia	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Viva e viva - <i>Serenta in lingua lombarda</i>	Fasolo (1628)	<i>Il carro di Madama Lucia</i>
Viva speranza	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Viva viva la piaga - <i>Và cantata allegra</i>	Milanuzzi (1628)	<i>Sesto libro delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Vivace miei desiri - <i>Sopra l'Aria di Ruggiero</i>	Ghizzolo (1623)	<i>Frutti d'amore...libro quinto</i>
Vivace sospiri	Abbatessa (1635)	<i>Cespuglio di varii fiori</i>
Viver trà pianti	Sances (1636)	<i>Il quarto libro delle cantate et arie</i>
Vivi vivi contenta - <i>Del sig Pietro Paolo Sabbatino</i>	Robletti, ed. (1622)	<i>Vezzosetti fiori</i>
Vivo in foco d'amor - <i>Balletto</i>	Berti (1627)	<i>Cantade et arie...libro secondo</i>
Vivo mostro dell'inferno	Abbatessa (1635)	<i>Cespuglio di varii fiori</i>
Vivrò fra miei tormenti e le mie pene	Robletti, ed. (1621a)	<i>Giardino musicale</i>
Voglio il mio duol scoprir	D'India (1621)	<i>Le musiche...libro quarto</i>
Voglio il mio duol scoprir - <i>Leggierezza di D</i>	Milanuzzi (1622b)	<i>Secondo scherzo delle ariose vaghezze</i>
Voglio prima morir	Abbatessa (1635)	<i>Cespuglio di varii fiori</i>

Voi bella ninfa mi toglie't il core	Corradi (1616)	<i>Le stravaganze d'amore</i>
Voi Celia luce mia - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Voi che servite amore	Salzilli (1616b)	<i>Amarille libro terzo</i>
Voi che'l mio mal sapete	Obizzi (1627)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Voi dite di partire	Valvasensi (1634)	<i>Secondo giardino d'amorosi fiori</i>
Voi fete bella ma fete crudele	Falconieri (1616)	<i>Libro primo di villanelle</i>
Voi fingete d'amarmi	Tarditi (1628)	<i>Amorosa schiera d'arie</i>
Voi folli e schiocchi amanti	Berti (1624)	<i>Cantade et arie ad una voce sola...libro primo</i>
Voi mi dico ch'io non v'ami	Robletti, ed. (1621b)	<i>Raccolta de varii concerti musicali</i>
Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami	Vitali (1622)	<i>Arie...libro quarto</i>
Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami - <i>Amorosa querela</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Voi mi dite ch'io non v'ami	Millioni (1627)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle</i>
Voi mi dite cor mio - <i>Amante fedele</i>	Giaccio (1613)	<i>Armoniose voci</i>
Voi mi fate morire	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Voi morir mi vedete	Sabbatini (1652)	<i>Prima scelta di villanelle a una voce</i>
Voi non rubate? ah cruda - <i>Madrigale</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Voi partire mio sole	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Voi partire sdegnose - <i>Amoroso sdegno</i>	Stefani, ed. (1623)	<i>Concerti amorosi terza parte</i>
Voi pazzarello mi turbate ogn'ora - <i>Arietta -Risposta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Voi pur mi prommetteste occhi sereni	Kapsberger (1619b)	<i>Libro terzo di villanelle</i>
Voi siete bella ma siete crudele - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Voi vi dolete Armilla s'io non v'amo - <i>Arietta</i>	Olivieri (1620)	<i>La pastorella Armilla</i>
Voi volete ch'io viva	Salzilli (1616a)	<i>La sirena libro secondo</i>
Volgi e rivolgi	Severi (1626)	<i>Arie...libro primo</i>
Volgi gl'occhi ma piangenti	Kapsberger (1632)	<i>Li fiori libro sesto</i>
Volgi gl'occhi pietosi	Marchetti (1660)	<i>Il primo libro d'intavolatura</i>
Volgi gl'occhi sereni	Abatessa (1652)	<i>Intessitura di varii fiori</i>
Voria Clori e non sa che	Vincenti, ed. (1634)	<i>Arie de diversi</i>
Vorrai Laurilla mia - <i>Diaologo</i>	Sabbatini (1628)	<i>Il sesto...opera ottava</i>
Vorrei morire poi che m'è crudele	Camarella (1633)	<i>Madrigali et arie</i>
Vuestra bellezza se'ñora - <i>Amante confuso - Vilanella spagnola</i>	Stefani, ed. (1618)	<i>Affetti amorosi canzonette</i>

Zeffiretti

Severi (1626)

Arie...libro primo

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